RELATIONS
AND
OBSERVATIONS,
HISTORICAL and POLITICK,
upon the PARLIAMENT
begun *Anno Dom.* 1640.

Divided into II. *Books:*

1. The Mystery of the two Junto's, *Presbyterian* and *Independent.*
2. The History of *Independency*, &c.

TOGETHER WITH
An APPENDIX, touching the Proceedings of the *Independent Faction* in
SCOTLAND.

POLIB.
Historici est, Ne quid falsi, audeat dicere:
Ne quid veri, non audeat.

HORAT.
Spe, metuque procul.

Printed in the Year 1648.

THE LIBRARY
OF E. L. GAY
NOV. 3, 1916

To my dread Soveraign.

Royal Sir,

OU have Drunk deep in the Cup of Affliction, and we have all Pledged you; it is wholsome, though bitter; but let us pray to God to remove this Cup in time, for the dregs and lees are poyson. You have learned by over-winding the strings of Authority, how to tune the People of this Monarchy, without breaking their Patience hereafter. Most Princes desire unlimited power, which is a Sail too great for any Vessel of Mortality to bear; though it be never so well Ballasted with Justice, Wisdome, Moderation, and Piety, yet one starb or other will endanger the over-setting it. Those Commonwealths are most stable and pleasing where the *State is so mixed* that every man (according to his degree and capacity) hath some *interest* therein to content him. *The KING, Sovereign Command and Power; The Nobility and Gentry, a derivative Authority and Magistracy;* and *all enjoy their Laws, Liberties, and Properties.* God hath cursed him that removeth the Bound-marks of his neighbour: this is a comprehensive curse, Kings enlarging their Prerogatives beyond their limits, are not excepted from it. You may be pleas'd to take heed therefore of two sorts of men, most likely to mis-lead you in this point, Ambitious Lawyers, who teach the Law to speak, not what the Legislators meant, but what you shall seem to desire: To avoyd this snare, suffer your Parliament to nominate 3. men for every Judges place, out of which you may please to choose one, as in pricking of Sheriffs. For it is the people that are obnoxious to their wickedness, you are above the reach of their malice. The second sort is *Parasitical Divines:* These Ear-wigs are alwayes hovering in Princes Courts, hanging in their ears,

They take upon them to make Princes beholding to their violent wresting of the Text, to bestow upon them whatever Prerogative the Kings of *Juda* or *Israel* used or usurped; as if the judicials of *Moses* were appointed by God for all Commonwealths, all Kings: as a good Bishoprick or Living is fit for every Priest that can catch it. These men having their best hopes of preferment from Princes, make Divinity to be but *Organon Politicum*, an instrument of Government; and harden the hearts of Princes, *Pharaoh*-like: Kings delight to be tickled by such venerable, warrantable flattery. Sir, you have more means to prefer them than other men, therefore they apply themselves more to you than other men do. *Tu facis hunc Dominum, te facit ille Deum.* The King makes the poor Priest a Lord, and rather than he will be behind with the King in courtesie, he will flatter him above the condition of a Mortal, and make him a God Royal. *Sir*, permit me to give you this Antidote against this poyson; let an Act be past, *That all such Divines, as either by Preaching, Writing, or discoursing, shall advance your Prerogative and Power above the known Laws and Liberties of the Land, forfeit all his Ecclesiastical preferments* ipso facto, *and be incapable ever after, and for ever banished your Court.* But above all learn to trust in your Judgment: *Plus aliis de te quàm tu tibi credere noli:* God hath enabled you to remember things past, to observe things present, and by comparing them together to conjecture things to come; which are the three parts of Wisdom that will much honor and advantage you. God keep your Majesty; so prayes

Your humble Subject,

THEOPH. VERAX.

To

To his Excellency Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX, *and the* ARMY *under his Command.*

MY Lord and Gentlemen, I have here by way of *Preparation* laid open to your view, those *Vlcers* which you have undertaken to *cure*, *viz.* The 2 *Factions in Parliament*, Authors of *Schismes* and *Divisions* in the two *Houses*, from whence they are derived to the whole Kingdome, to *the obstructing of justice*, and of the *establishment* of our *Laws*, *Rights*, *Liberties* and *Peace*; *the enslaving of the Parliament* it self, and the *dilapidating of the Publick Treasure*: whereby the *whole Kingdom* may be *enfranchised*, *secured*, *and united*; and *the King and his Posterity setled in His due Rights*; which is the sum of all your undertakings in your many reiterated Papers. I confess a *Herculean* labour, and far beyond his clensing of the *Augean* Stable; That was performed *by an Arm of flesh*, this cannot be effected *without an extraordinary calling* (for *ordinary calling thereto* you have none, and God seldome blesseth a man *out of his calling*) and though an *heroick heat and zeal* may go far, yet *it will tire many miles on this side the work*, *unless it be blown and inspired with divine breath*. And as *Alchymists* say of the *Philosophers Stone*, so I of this work (which is the *Philosophers Stone* in our *English Politicks*) *it cannot be effected but by a man of wonderfull and unspotted Integrity and Innocency*; *free from all Fraud*, *Self-seeking*, *and Partiality*. In order to this great work you have already begun to sift and winnow the *House of commons*, by *charging* 11 *Presbyterian Grandees*; *who* if they be proved *guilty*, must needs have their *counterpanes equally faulty*, even to a syllable; in the opposite *Junto of Independents*; for when two *factions* shall conspire to toss & keep up the *golden ball of Government*, *Profit* & *Preferment*:

ment between them, neither can be innocent; unleſs therefore you apply your corroſive to one *Vlcer* as well as the other, you will never work a compleat cure, *nor will be free from ſcandal and appearance of faction or deſign* (that I may uſe your own words) *to weaken onely one party* (under the notion of unjuſt or oppreſſive) *that you may advance another more than your own.* Beſides, it is obſerved that you ſpeak but coldly to have *the publick accounts of the Kingdom Stated*; putting it off with a wiſh only, as if you did ſecretly fear, what the Presbyterians openly ſay, *That the Independents are guilty of more Millions than their party*: your own words are, *We could wiſh the Kingdom might both be righted & publickly ſatisfied in point of Accounts for the vaſt ſums that have been Leavied; as alſo for many other things, &c. But we are loath to preſs any thing that may lengthen diſpute.* Are ſo many Millions to be curſorily paſſed over without diſpute? were they not the blood and tears of the exhauſted people, and the milk of their Babes; are they not like *Achan's* wedge amongſt us? would it not much eaſe the people of burthens, and go far in the payment of Souldiers and publick debts, to have both the *Kings* and the *Parliaments ſponges* (of what party and profeſſion ſoever) ſqueezed into the common Treaſury whenſoever the Commonwealth ſettles? Review this clauſe well, and as the Parliament hath altered ſome Votes for you, ſo do you alter this clauſe for the people, who long not only to ſee the Kingdom, but alſo our new-made Gentlemen *in ſtatu quo prius.* Gentlemen, you that will give Counſel will take it without offence, againſt him that dares lay as good claim to juſtice and honeſty as your ſelves.

Repreſentation p.6. ſect.2.

p.14.ſect.7.

THEODORUS VERAX.

The

The Mystery of the Two Juntoes, *Presbyterian* and *Independent*, with some Additions.

THE Kingdom being overgrown with *Prerogative*, *Corruption* and *Superstition*, (the fruits of a long and lazie peace) by a long discontinuance of Parliaments; at last by Providence his Majesty was necessitated to call a Parliament, the onely Colledge of Physicians to purge the much-distempered body of the Common-wealth. 1.

In this Parliament a contest between the *Kings Prerogative* and *the Peoples Laws and Liberties* begat a War. The *Divines* on both sides, out of their Pulpits, sounding Alarum thereto; and not only *Sermons*, but *Declarations of Parliament* and *National Covenant*, holding forth to the people the defence of Religion, Laws, Liberties and Properties inflamed the people to the rage of batrel, as the Elephant is enraged at the sight of Red. This War occasioned extraordinary Taxes and Leavies of money, such as were never heard of by our Ancestors, and were *Irritamenta malorum*, the nurse of our corruptions. 2.

This incentive working upon the humane frailty of the speaking and leading Members of the Houses, caused them first to interweave their particular interests and ambitions with the publick, and lastly to prefer them before the publick. 3. *Grandees.*

Wherefore the said *leading men* or *Grandees* (for that is now Parliament language) first divided themselves into *two factions* or *Juntoes*, *Presbyterians* and *Independents*; seeming to look onely upon the Church, but (Religion having the strongest operation upon the spirit of man) involved the interests of the Common-wealth. 4. *Factions.*

The common people of the two Houses following (with an implicite faith and blind obedience) the example of their leaders, divided themselves also into the said Dichotomy; which they did with more seriousness than their leaders, as not perceiving any thing of design therein; but according to the diversity of their Judgments, or rather Fancies and Confidings (for to resign a mans 5.

mans judgment to the opinion of another man is but a silly trust and confidence) studied the upholding of their parties with earnestness, whilest the *Grandees* of each party in private close together for their own advancement, serving one anothers turn.

6. The *Grandees* (in all publick debates) seem as real in their reciprocal oppositions, as those silly ones who are in earnest, whereby they cherish the zeal of their respective parties, keep them still divided (*Divide & impera* is the Devils rule) and so amuse them, and take them off from looking after other interests, in which, were they conjoyned, they might share with the *Grandees* themselves: and for the better contentment of such their Confidents, as looking too intentively after their own gain, the *Grandees* of each *Junto* confer something of advantage upon those that are subservient unto them, as five pounds a week, or some petty imployment.

7. The seeds of these factions spread themselves into the Common-wealth and Armies, as Rheum distils from the head into all the body.

8. *Monopolizing profits and preferments.* Thus the leading men or Bel-weathers having *seemingly divided themselves*, and having *really divided the Houses*, and captivated their respective parties judgment, teaching them by an implicite faith, *Jurare in verba Magistri*, to pin their opinions upon their sleeves; they begin to advance their projects of Monopolizing the Profits, Preferments and Power of the Kingdome in themselves. To which purpose, though the leaders of each party seem to maintain a hot opposition, yet when any profit or preferment is to be reached at, it is observed that a powerful Independent especially moves for a Presbyterian, or a leading Presbyterian for an Independent; and seldom doth one oppose or speak against another in such cases, unless something of particular spleen or Competition come between, which causeth them to break the common Rule. By this means the *Grandees* of each faction seldom miss their mark, since an Independent moving for a Presbyterian, his reputation carries the business clear with the Independent party; and the Presbyterians will not oppose a leading man of their own side. By this artifice the *Grandees* of each side share the Common-wealth between them; and are now become proud, domineering *Rehoboams*, even over the rest of their

fellow

fellow Members, contrary to the liberty of Parl. which consists in an equality) that were formerly fawning ambitious *Absolons*.

There hath been lately given away to Members openly (besides innumerable and inestimable private cheats mutually connived at) at least 300000l. in money, besides rich Offices, Imployments in money Committees, Sequestrations, and other advantages. And those Members who have so well served themselves, under colour of serving the publick, are, for the most part, old Canvasers of Factions, who have sate idlely and safely in the House, watching their advantages to confound businesses, and shuffle the cards to make their own game, when others that have ventured their persons abroad, labour'd in the publick work, like *Israelites* under these *Ægyptian* task-masters, and lost their estates, are left to sterve untill they can find relief in that empty bag called by fools, *fides Publica*, by wise men, *fides Punica*, and are now looked upon in the House supercilliously, like unwelcome guests, for it is known how malignantly, and how juglingly writs for new Elections were granted and executed, and called *younger brothers*, and like younger brothers they are used, their elder brothers having slipped into the World before them, and anticipated the inheritance; they have broken first into the common field, and shut the door to prevent after commers even from gleaning after their full harvest, for the better effecting whereof, they have now morgaged, in effect, all the means they have to raise money, unto the City, and being themselves fat and full with the publick Treasure, to express rather their scorn than care, they are making an Ordinance that no more money shall be given to their Members, and yet to shew how carefull they are of all such as have *cheated* the Commonwealth *under them*, I will not say *for them*, they have taken advantage of the Petition of the Army, wherein they desire Indempnity for all acts done in Relation to the War, and have passed an Ordinance of Indempnity for all such as have acted by *Authority*, and *for the service* of the Parliament, wherein, under great penalties, and with an appeal at last from the Judges of the Law to a Committee of Parliament, such as have gone beyond the Authority given by Parliament, and sequestred men unjustly, and so withheld their goods under pretence thereof, and such as have leavied Taxes three or

four times over, are quit from private actions; and the benefit of Law and Justice taken from the oppressed, to secure *Country Committees, Sequestrators* and others (not *Prerogative* but *Legislative*) *Thieves*, contrary to *Magna Charta*, which says, *nulli negabimus, nulli differemus justitiam, aut rectum*; We will deny, nor defer justice and right to no man. Oh prodigious acts, and of greater Tyranny than any King ever durst adventure upon. What is become of our National Covenant, and the Parliaments many Declarations for defence of Laws and Liberty? Or have we fought our Liberty into slavery? By these devices the *honest middle men* of the House (whose Consciences will not let them joyn in any faction to rend the Commonwealth in sunder) are out of all possibility of repair, and made contemptible as well by their own wants, as the pride of the *Graspers*: and in the end, their poverty will enforce them to leave the sole possession of the House to these *thriving Junto men*, who do beleaguer them therein, making them (for farther addition to their losses) pay all taxes, from which the thriving men go free: so that the poorer part of the House pays tribute to the richer. Nay it is farther whispered, that at last the *Junto men* will quit the Parliament Privilege of not being sued, purposely to leave these younger Brothers to the mercy of their creditors, and disable them to sit in their House.

10. *Committees of the Houses.*

Another ambitious aym of those *Junto men* is, their devise of referring all businesses of moment to *Committees*. For the active speaking men by mutual agreement naming one another of every Committee (or at least their confident Ministers) do thereby *fore-stall and intercept* the businesses of the House, and under colour of examining and preparing matters, they report them to the House with what glosses, additions, detractions, and advantages they please; whereby the House (judging according to their report) oftentimes mis-judgeth, and if it be a business they are willing to smother, the Committees have infinite artifical delays to put it off, and keep it from a hearing, or at least from reporting. By this means the remaining part of the House are but Cyphers to value, and Suffragans to ratifie what is forejudged by the said Committees. This usurpation of theirs is much helped by keeping the doors of their Committee-rooms shut, and dispatching all affairs privately and in the dark; whereas Justice de-

delights in the light, and ought to be as publick as the common air, it being against its nature to be Chambered up, and kept from the observation of eye, and ear-witnesses.

And by their examining of men against themselves, contrary to *Magna Charta*, they much enlarge their power.

Parts of this project we may well call the *Multiplicity of money-Committees*, as Goldsmiths-hall, Haberdashers-hall, the Committee of the Kings Revenues, Committee of the Army, &c. Where every mans profit and power is according to his cunning and conscience. Hereby they draw a generall dependency after them, for he that commands the money, commands the men. These Committee-men are so powerfull that they over-awe and over-power their fellow-Members, contrary to the nature of a free-Paliament; wherein the equality of the Members must maintain the freedom and integrity thereof, and suppress factions. 11 *Money Committees.*

The like may be said of such *Members as* (in scorn of the *self-denying Ordinance*) *hold Offices by gift or connivence* of the Parliament, either openly in their own name, or secretly in the name of some friend. Their offices inabling them to do courtesies and discourtesies. And although there hath been a Committee appointed to certifie all pensions, sequestrations, offices, imployments of advantage and profits conferred by the Parliament upon any their Members, in which Committee Mr. *Sands* holdeth the chair; yet is this meerly a formality to blind the eys of the World, and fool the expectation of some losing Members, who were then resolute to know who had already received satisfaction for their losses, and how far they had out-run their fellow-Members therein. Yet this Committee is now let fall, no reports demanded of Mr. *Sands*, and when any is to be made, they are not unprovided of a means to make it fruitless, by putting every particular to debate; well knowing, that no man will be willing to argue against the particular persons and merits of his fellow Members, and thereby heap envy upon his own head, besides the delay of a particular debate. 12. *Members holding Offices, &c.*

How frequently the *Country Committees* act contrary to the Laws of the Land; how they trample *Magna Charta* under their feet; how boldly and avowedly they transgress all Orders and 13. *Country Committees.*

Ordinances of Parliament, and break out Solemn League and Covenant; how they ordinarily turn well-affected men out of their free holds and goods, imprison and beat their Persons, without any known charge, accuser, or witnesse against them; nay murther them, as in the case of Doctor *Rawleygh* killed in prison at *Wells* by the Committees Marshal; and the poor men murthered at *Bridgwater*, whose bloods were shed like the blood of a dog, and no real prosecution thereof; how frequently they leavy one Taxe three or four times over, and continue their leavies after the Ordinance expire; How cruelly they raise the twentieth and fifth part upon the well-affected, exercising an illegall, arbitrary, tyrannical power over their fellow Subjects, far higher than ever *Strafford* or *Canterbury* durst advise the King to; how ignorantly and unjustly they exercise a power *to hear and determine*, or rather to determine without hearing, or hear without understanding, *private controversies of Meum & Tuum for debts, trespasses*, nay *Title and possession of Lands*, without either formality or knowledge of the Law, not having wit, manners, nor breeding enough, as being chosen for the greatest part, out of the baset of the People, for base ends, to satisfie men with an outside, or Complement of justice: Insomuch that nothing is now more Common, than an accusation without an accuser, a sentence without a Judge, and a condemnation without a hearing. How they exclude all other Magistracy, ingrossing to themselves the power of Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Church-wardens, &c. in an Arbitrary way; keeping Troops of Horse, upon pay and free-quarter for their guards, like the 30 Tyrants of *Athens*, and if any man but speak of calling them to give an account, they presently vote him a Delinquent, and Sequester him. If any man, I say, be so deaf as not to hear the loud universal out-crying of the people, so great a stranger in our Israel as not to know these truths, let him peruse M. *Edward Kings* discovery of the arbitrary actions of the Committee of *Lincoln*, and the heads of Grievances of *Glamorganshire*, printed 1647. where he may see these things briefly Epitomized; but to Historize them at large would require a volume as big as the Book of *Martyrs*. These Committees are excellent spunges to suck mony from the people, and to serve not only their own, but also the Covetous, Malicious

licious, Ambitious ends, of those that raked them out of the dunghil for that imployment, and do defend them in their oppressions; who is so blind as not to see these men have their protectors? the *Damones* to whom they offer up part of their rapins, to whom they sacrifice

Occulta spolia, & plures de pace Triumphos.

If there be any intention to restore our Laws and Liberties, and free us from Arbitrary Government, it is fit these Committees and all associations be laid down, having no enemy to associate against, and that the old form of Government by Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, &c. be re-established, and the Militia in each County setled as before in Lieutenants, and deputy Lieutenants, or in Commissioners.

The rather, because the people are now generally of opinion, They may as easily find Charity in Hell, as Justice in any Committee; and that the King hath taken down one Star-chamber, and the Parliament hath set up a hundred.

Nor is it a small artifice to raise money by so *many severall and confused Taxes*. Whereas one or two ways orderly used and well husbanded, would have done the work. 1. Royal Subsidie of 300000 l. 2. Pole money. 3. The free Loans and Contributions upon the Publick Faith amounted to a vast incredible sum in money, Plate, Horse, Arms, &c. 4. The Irish adventure for sale of Lands the first and second time. 5. The Weekly meal. 6. The City Loan after the rate of 50 Subsidies. 7. The Assessment for bringing in the Scots. 8. The five and twentith part. 9. The Weekly Assessment for my Lord Generals Army. 10. The Weekly (or Monthly) Assessment for Sir *Thomas Fairfax* Army. 11. The Weekly Assessment for the Scotch Army. 12. The Weekly Assessment for the British Army in *Ireland*. 13. The Weekly Assessment for my Lo. of *Manchesters* Army. 14. Free-quarter (at least) connived at by the State, because the Souldiers having for a time subsistence that way, are the less craving for their pay; whereby their Arrears growing stale, will at last either be frustrated by a tedious Committee of Accounts, or forgotten; in the mean time, the Grand Committee of Accounts discount it out of the Commanders Arrears, whereby the State saves it. 15. The Kings Revenue. 16. Sequestrations and Plun-

14. *Taxes.*

der

der by Committees, which if well anſwered to the State, would have carried on the work; which thus I demonſtrate; One half of all the goods and Chattels, and (at leaſt) one half of the Lands, Rents, and Revenues of the Kingdom have been ſequeſtred. And who can imagin that one half of the profits and Goods of the Land will not maintain any Forces that can be kept and fed in *England*, for the defence thereof? 17. Exciſe upon all things; this alone if well managed would maintain the War; the Low-Countries make it almoſt their only ſupport. 18. Fortification-money, &c. By theſe ſeveral ways and Taxes, about forty *Millions* in money and money-worth have been milked from the people; and the Parliament (as the Pope did once) may call *England*, *Puteum inexhauſtum*; yet it is almoſt drawn dry. A vaſt Treaſure, and ſo exceſſive, as nothing but a long peace could import; and nothing but much fraud and many follies could diſſipate, and we ought not to wonder if it be accounted *inter arcana noviſſimi imperii*, to be always making, yet never finiſhing an account thereof.

15. *Accounts.* And as they have artificially confounded the accounts by laying on multiplicity of Taxes; ſo (for the ſame reaſon) they let the money run in ſo many muddy, obſcure chanels, through ſo many Committees and Officers fingers, both for collecting, receiving, iſſuing and paying it forth, that it is impoſſible to make or ballance any Publick account thereof; and at leaſt one half thereof is known to be devoured by Committees and Officers, and thoſe that for lucre protect them. By theſe means, as they make many men partners with them in the publick ſpoyls, ſo they much ſtrengthen and increaſe their party, whereby *multitudo peccantium tollit pœnam.*

Accounts again. If theſe things were not purpoſely done, 1. Our Taxes would be fewer in number, and more in effect. 2. They would be put to run in one chanel, under the fingering of fewer Harpies, and perſpicuous and true Entries made of all receipts and diſburſments, which would be publick to common view and examination. The Exchequer way of accounts is the exacteſt, anticenteſt, and beſt known way of account of *England*, and moſt free from deceit, which is almoſt confeſſed *de facto*, when, to make the Kings Revenue more obnoxious to their deſires, they took

took it out of the Exchequer way, (contrary to the fundamental Laws of the Land; for both the Higher and Lower Exchequer are as antient and fundamental as any Court in *England*) and put it under a Committee, which as all other Committees do, will render an account of their Stewardship at the latter day. In the mean time divers of that Committee buy in old sleeping Pensions, which they pay themselves from the first of their arrears; yet other men that have disbursed money out of their purses for the Kings Service, can receive no pay for any money laid forth before *Michaelmas* Term, 1643. because (forsooth) then the Committee first took charge of the Revenue. In the mean time the Kings Tenants and Debtors are deprived of the benefit of the Laws and Liberties of the subject, which before they enjoyed; all Debts and Moneys being now raised by the terrour of Pursuivants and Messengers, whose Commissions are only to distrain and levy, &c. whereas formerly the Exchequer sent out legal Process, and the Tenant or Debtor had liberty to plead to it in his own defence, if he thought himself wronged; but now New Lords, new Laws; and to countenance their doings, the Committee have gotten an addition of some Lords to them. 3. If there were fair play above board, so many members of both Houses would not be ambitious of the trouble and clamour that attends Task masters, Publicans, and such sinners as sit at the receipt of Custome, being no part of the business for which the Writ Summons, or the people choose or trust them, and whereby they are diverted from the business of the House: but would leave that imployment to other men, who not having the character and privilege of Parliament upon them, will be lesse able to protect themselves and their agents from giving publick accounts of their receipts and disbursments, and from putting affronts and delays upon the Committee of Accompts, (as it is well known) some of them have done. Lastly, it is scandalous that the same men should be continued so long in their money-imployments, because *Diuturnitas & solitudo corrumpunt Imperia*; and by long continuance and experience they grow so hardned, so cunning in their way, and so backed with dependencies, that it is almost impossible to trace them. And although (when we look upon the many persons imployed) we cannot say there is *solitudo personarum*;

yet

yet when we consider that by a long partnership in their imployments they are allyed together in one common interest, they are to be esteemed but as one man, for a Corporation of men is but many men joyned together as one man, and with one mind pursuing one and the same end or interest.

16. *Committee of Accounts.* And though they have a general Committee of Accompts, yet they were nominated by those Members that ought to give Accompts, and it must needs be suspicious for an Accomptant to choose those persons before whom he shall accompt. And we see (after so long a time of their sitting) no fruit thereof. Whereas the people did hope, that after so much money spent, and such great debts and arrears left to pay, (whereby they are threatned with continuance of their Taxes,) that a full and exact general accompt of all Receipts and Disbursments would have been published in Print, for their satisfaction, as is usually done in the Low-Countries, and as was once done by this Parliament, *Anno* 1641. by a Declaration of the accompts of the Kingdom.

But it may be the Synod in favour of the *Grandees*, have voted that place in Scripture (*Render an account of thy Stewardship*) to be but Apocryphal.

17. *Wants of the Parliament and how occasioned.* By these exorbitant courses, though they have drayned 40. Millions from the people, yet (as *Philip* of *Macedon* was said to be *Inter quotidianas rapinas semper inops*) they are faln to such ridiculous want and beggery, that they have lately pawned almost all the security they have, for 200000l. to disband the Army, and enter upon the Irish imployment. They have slit Goldsmiths-Hall in sunder, and given one side thereof to the City, and kept the other half thereof to themselves, and that already charged with 200000l. at least. So that if any sudden occasion happen, they have put their purse into the hands of the uncircumcised Jews of the City, and cannot raise one penny but by new Taxes upon the people. It was worth observing to see how officiously some of the old Stagers took leave of the Publick purse, before it came into Hucksters hands. Alderman *Pennington* had a debt of 3000l. he owed to Sir *John Pennington* forgiven him, (he never asked forgiveness of his sins more heartily) and 3000l. more given him out of Goldsmiths Hall in course; the reason of this bounty was forked or two-fold.

1. Be-

1. Because he hath got enough before.

2. To comfort his heart, for being left out of the City Militia. But the most observable thing was, to see this old Parliament like a young Prodigal, take up money upon difficult terms, and intangle all that they had for a security.

1. They gave way to the City to hedg in an old debt, being a loan of money after the rate of 50 Subsidyes, and other old debts.

2. Whereas 200000l. only was the sum to be borrowed, the City enjoyned them to take up 230000l. whereof the od 30000l. to be bestowed for relief of decayed occupiers of the City; so that upon the matter the Parliament pays 30000l. Broakage.

3. That the City may not trust the greatest unthrifts of Christendome, with laying out of their own money; they put upon them 2 Treasurers of the City, to receive and disburse it for the service for which it was borrowed; so you see they have now neither credit, money, nor a purse to put it in.

18. *Modest and middle members.*

So that the *modest Members*, who have been more forward to help their Country than themselves, are left in the lurch for their losses, and exposed to the laughter of their elder brothers, the old *Junto men*, and factious leaders of the House, all being now morgaged to the *Lombards* of the City. The thriving Members hope their younger brothers will continue as modest, as they have been, and digest all with patience; but others, and those neither fools nor knaves, hope all the *modest and middle men* of the Houses, such as are ingaged in no faction, will be provoked hereby to draw into a third party or *Junto*, to moderate the excesses of the other 2. when any thing prejudicial to the Commonwealth is agitated; and to call the old *Junto* men, those land Pyrats to account, making them cast up what they have swallowed, and bring it to a common *divident*, or rather to pay the Army and Publick debts, whereby the people may be eased of their pressures; nor let them be discouraged with the supposed difficulty hereof, since 20 or 30 men holding together, and observing the cross debates, and different sway of each party, may easily make themselves moderators of their differences, and turn the scales for the best advantage of the common, which way they please to cast in their Votes, since it is very rare to have any question carried by more than eight or ten voices.

19. *Grandees provision to save themselves.*

Most of these *Grandees* are reported to have, for *their retreat*, houses in the Low-Countries, richly furnished with Sequestred

Plate, Linnen, and Stuff, and great store of money in bank for their shelter, against such stormes as their Rapine, Tyranny, and Ignorance may happily raise here amongst us. In those their retirements, these Authors of our miseries will injoy their sins, and our spoyls in security, attending an opportunity to purchase their peace at last, and betray our Saferies and Liberties to the inraged Prince and People. This is called robbing of the Ægyptians; and doubtless these ambitious State-Mountebanks have brought us into darkness worse than Egyptian. The text saith, the Egyptians rose not from their places in three days; they yet knew where they were, which is more than we do, every man being out of his place and rank; the Servant in place of his Master, the Begger in place of the King, the Fool in place of the Counsellour, the Theif in place of the Judge, the cheater in place of the Treasurer, the Clown in place of the Gentleman, none but God alone can play *Dædalus* part, and give us a Clue to lead us out of this labyrinth, into which these unpolitick *Hocus Pocasses* have brought us. These unskilfull workmen that have built up *Babel*, and pulled down *Sion*. Others are said to prepare Forein Plantations for Retreat; to People which, Children are ravished from their parents Arms, and shipped away; an abomination not known in *England* before, and therefore no competent Law made against it; no more than in antient *Rome* against Paricides.

20. *Grandees their several interests and designs and strengths.*

By what hath been already said, you see what the *several*, and what the *conjoyned interests* of these two *Juncto's* or *Factions*, *Presbyterian* and *Independent* are; let us now consider where *their several strength* lies. The *Independent* groundeth his strength upon the *Army*, which if he can keep up, he hopes to give the Law to all; and to produce that great Chymæra, *Liberty of Conscience*: not considering that the confusion and licentiousnesse of such a liberty will destroy it self, *Libertas Libertate perit*. The *Presbyterians* have three *Pillars* to support them. 1. The *City* is their cheif foundation, with which they keep a strict correspondency, and daily communication of Counsels. Upon this consideration, they have lately put the Parliament Purse into the Cities Pocket as aforesaid; setled and inlarged the City Militia. Whereas all the Countries of *England* (being more obnoxious to injuries than the City) suffer much for want of setling their Militia; the Parliament not trusting them with arms, so much as for their own defence: An evident sign, there is a farther design than dif-

disbanding this Army. And because the City Militia can onely keep in awe the adjacent South and East Counties of the Kingdom; therefore to suppress the remoter parts, and inforce them to obedience, they keep up some *in-land Garrisons*, and have the Scots and G. *Poyntz supernumerary forces for the North*. And in *the West* (under colour for sending men for *Ireland*) they keep upon free quarter and pay of the Country, *many supernumerary Regiments* and Troops, most Cavaliers, at least five times as many as they really intend to transport. These are always going, but never gone, like St. *George*, always in his saddle, never on his way. Something ever is and shall be wanting untill Sir *Thomas Fairfax*'s Army be disbanded; and then (it is thought) the disguise will fall off; and these supernumeraries shall appear a new modelled Army, under Presbyterian Commanders, you may be sure, and such whose Consciences shal not befool their wits where any matter of gain appeareth; if this be not their aym, why did they not disband those lewd supernumeraries before last Winter, since they might have raised as many men the spring following for half the charge their very free quarters cost? and most of these swear they will not go for *Ireland*, vowing they wil cut the throats of the Round-heads.

The Country is amazed, fearing these Cavaliers are kept on free quarter by a Cavaleerish party for some Cavaleerish design. Secondly, why did they not rather divide Sir *Thomas Fairfax* Army into two parts, one to go for *Ireland*, the other to stay in *England*, being already modelled, excellently disciplined, and having the visible marks of Gods favour upon their actions? But to take a few for *Ireland*, a few for *England*, and leave a Coar in the middle to be plucked forth and disbanded, was the way to discontent them, and put them into mutiny, and thereby necessitate the Parliament to disband them all, and give an opportunity to them that seek it, to new modell another Army out of the aforesaid Supernumeraries, more pliable to the desires of the Presbyterian *Junto*: adde hereunto the causeleſſe exasperating speeches and aspersions cast upon most of the Army purposely, as moderate men think, to discontent them. Thirdly, If they have no intent to keep up an Army against the People, why have they continued the Military charge for another year, and inlarged it from 52000 l. to 60000 l. a moneth?

Thus the City, *In-land Garrisons*, and *Supernumerary forces new mo-* 21. *Presbyters.*

modelled are like to prove the three-stringed whip, wherewith the Presbyterian *Phaeton* will drive the triumphant Chariot if they prevail; to which may be added the Presbyters themselves, who by overawing mens Consciences with their Doctrine, will subdue and work mens minds like wax to receive any impression of bondage that tyranny and oppression can set before them, as they do in *Scotland*, the Clergy in all times and places have ever held with the mighty, as the Jaccal hunts still with the Lion to partake of his prey; The Clergy have ever had an itch to be medling with State affairs, which shews how contemptible an opinion they have of their own Coat, that they can find no contentment in it; yet they would have the Laity to have a reverend opinion of it; the Popish Clergy draw all Civil Affairs, publick and private, under their jurisdiction and cognisance, *quatenus* there is *peccatum* in all humane actions; the Presbyterians *quatenus* there is *scandalum* in all human actions, what is the odds? *Peccatum* is the Mother, *Scandalum* the Daughter, and both pretend they do this *in ordine ad Deum*; but universal experience teacheth us, how miserable that Commonwealth is, where the corruption of a Church-man proves the generation of a States-man.

The premises considered, I shall propound these ensuing *Quaeries* to those that are of better judgement than my self.

32. *Quaeres upon the premises.*

1. *Quaere*, Why the title and punishment of Malignants is translated from the Cavaliers, who fought for regal Tyranny against the Parliament, and laid upon those that fought against regal Tyranny for the Parliament; is it not because those Cavaliers that have fought for one Tyranny, will not be scrupulous to fight for another? and such wel-affected as have opposed Tyranny in one kind, will not admit of it in another? why is it now accounted a note of Malignity and disaffection to endeavour the putting down of Arbitrary Government, and re-establishing our Laws, Liberties and Properties, whereto the Parliament by their many Declarations and their National Covenant are bound? lay this to heart, and consider: whether they have not changed these their first Principles, and consequently whether they are not desirous to change their old friends who resolutely adhere to the said Principles.

2. If the King grant the Propositions, or if he deny them, and the *Predominant Junto* (or both *Junto's* joyned together, to drive on one Common interest?) for it is now thought they are upon an accommodation to keep up that lower *Conjunction*, which

which they despair to uphold *divisim*) establish the military and civil power without him, according to their desires, and in order to their ayms; *Quare*, whether the said leading men setled in their posture, with their confident guards about them, may not draw after them so many of their party as upon an implicite faith will follow them, and lick up the crums of the publick spoiles under their tables, expelling or disabling (as aforesaid) the disingaged Members, and by this policy make themselves perpetual Dictators, incorporating and ingrossing to themselves both the Consultive, Directive, & Ministerial power of the Kingdom in all causes Civil and Military, setting up an *Oligarchy* or popular Tyranny instead of a Regal, as the thirty Tyrants of *Athens* did. In order whereto, they already declare, 1. That an Ordinance of Parliament, without the Kings royal assent, is equal to an Act of Parliament. 2. That an Ordinance is a above a Law by virtue of their legislative power: upon which presuming in their Ordinance of Indempnity, they have granted an appeal from the Judges of the Law to a Committee of Parliament; see the Ordinance *May* 21. 1647. 3. That they are the irrevocable Trustees of the peoples Lives, Liberties and Properties, without account, with other *principles preparative to Tyranny*.

3. *Quare*, Why Arbitrary and Barbarous Government by Committees and other illegal proceedings (which in time of war were used upon real or pretended necessity, and were then only excusable, because *necessitas tollit Legem*) are stil continued upon us now in time of peace, no enemies troubling our quiet; and without any further pretence of necessity, contrary to their National Covenant, and all their Declarations? is it not to inure the people to servitude, and exercise their patience?

4. *Quare*, Whether the prodigious oppressions of Committees, Sequestrators, &c. and of Free-quarter, be not purposely countenanced to necessitate the people to rise in tumults, that thence occasion may be taken to keep In-land Garrison; and Armies?

5. *Quare*, Whether our Laws, Liberties and Properties, are not now as liable to an invasion from the *Legislative power*, as formerly from the *Prerogative*? considering that those who like ambitious *Absalom* courted and wooed the people in the beginning of troubles, now like haughty *Rehoboams* care not though the people complain, their little finger is heavier than the loyns of the King, the controversy between the 2 *Juntoes* being no more, than whose slaves we shall be.

6. *Quare*,

6. *Quare*, Whether if the King hereafter tread in the steps of this Parliament, and their Committees, he will not be a greater tyrant than either the Turk, Russe, or French, and have as absolute dominion over his Subjects, as the Devil hath over damned Souls in Hel? and how dangerous these presidents may be to those Laws and Liberties which we have sworn to maintain.

23. *Middle and moderate Members again.*

If the *middle and disingaged men* in the House, do not speedily unite themselves into a party or *Junto*, as the factious have done, and communicate their counsels, they will be *arena sine calce*, loose and dissipated by every breath: and neither serviceable for themselves nor their Country. Whereas if they unite, twenty or thirty may become Moderators and Umpeers between both parties, (as hath been already said;) let the moderate men but consider how sad and dishonourable a thing it is, to see nothing almost of great and publick concernment come into the House, but what hath been *before hand contrived, debated, and digested* in one or both of the two *Junto's* at their private meetings, and put into so resolved and prejudicate a way and method of dispatch, that every man is appointed his part or Cue before-hand; one man to move it, and set it on foot, another to second him; one man speak to one part of the Argument, another to another part; another to keep himself to the last for a reserve, and speak to the question, which he is provided to qualifie with a distinction, or vary it, if he find it difficult to pass. Thus all publick businesses are measured by private respects; whereby it appears, that as *frequent Parl.* are *good Physick*, so continual Parl. are *bad food*; and the people may complain, that *qui medicè vivit, miserè vivit.* Patliaments are *Bona peritura*; they cannot keep long without corruption. Their perpetuity emboldens the Members, by taking from them all fear of being called to account, especially if they get their Sons into the Houses as well as themselves (as many have done this Parliament, and more endeavour to do) whereby they have an estate in their places for two or three lives. Moreover by long sitting they become so familiar with one anothers persons and designs, as to serve one anothers turns, to joyn interests, and to draw into factions, *Hodie mihi, cras tibi.* If you and your party will help me to day, I and my friends will help you to morrow.

24. *Conclusion with some complaints.*

Miserima Resp. ubi majestas Imperii, & salus populi discordibus conflictantur studiis. What shall we say?

En quo discordia terra—perduxit miseros?

Shall

Shall we complain to God? God hath a controverſie with us. Of whom ſhall we complain? Of our ſelves? we muſt firſt reform our ſelves: We that take upon us to reform Church and Common-wealth; Shall we complain of our ſinnes? Ask the grace of repentance firſt, and ſo ask that we may obtain. Shall we complain of our puniſhments? Let us firſt repent, and amend our ſins that cauſed them. Let us firſt pluck off the maſk of hypocriſie, God will ſee thorough ſuch a fantaſtical garment of Figleaves. Let us no longer make Religion a ſtalking-horſe; God, who is all Wiſdome and all Truth, will not be deceived. If we talk like Chriſtians, and walk like Turkes, Chriſt will not own us. To faſt for a day, and hang our heads like bulruſhes, will not reconcile us. We muſt faſt from publique ſpoyls, rapines, and oppreſſion, and not drink the tears of the poor and needy. Shall we complain with the Prophets; That our Princes are become Theeves? that was heretofore our complaint, now we muſt invert it, and cry, That our Theeves (mean and baſe people) are become Princes. We are ſick, very ſick, intemperatly ſick, and God hath given us a Phyſitian in his wrath, a Leper as white as Snow, fitter to infect, than cure us. What Phyſick doth he preſcribe? Poyſon. What dyet? Stones inſtead of bread, Scorpions inſtead of fiſhes, hard fare for them that formerly fed ſo daintily. Before I conclude, let me give you the pedigree of our Miſeries, and of their Remedies. A long Peace begat Plenty, Plenty begat Pride, and her Siſter Riot, Pride begat Ambition, Ambition begat Faction, Faction begat Civil Warre: And (if our evils be not incurable, if we be not fallen *in id temporis quo nec vitia noſtra, nec eorum remedia ferre poſſumus*) our Warre will beget Poverty, Poverty Humility, Humility Peace again, *Sic rerum revertentibus vicibus annulus vertitur Politicus.* The declining ſpoak of the wheel will riſe again. But we are not yet ſufficiently humbled, we have not repented with *Ninivy*. We wear Silks and Velvets, inſtead of Sack-cloath and Aſhes (even the meaneſt up-ſtart hath his theſts writ upon his back by his Taylor in proud Characters of Gold Lace) we have not watered our Couch with our Tears, but with an adulterous ſweat. Look to it therefore ye State *Incubi*, that by an inceſtuous copulation have begot Plenty upon War, and filled your houſes with the ſpoyl and plunder of your dear Country; an inundation of blood, and of the tears of the oppreſſed, will waſh away the foundation of your houſes:

And

And peace will be far from you in this World, but especially that peace which the world cannot give: And because *Salamander-like* you delight in the fire of Contention, an unquenchable fire will be your lot hereafter. And though you escape all accounts here, yet upon the great day of account when you shall receive your sentence of condemnation, those your Children for whose preferment you sell your Souls, your God for gold, shall not shew so much thankfulness or pity towards you, as to say, alas our Father! But your hearts are hardned with *Pharaoh*, I leave you therefore to *Pharaohs* destiny, to be drowned in your own Red sea, as he was in his.

25 *Resolution & scope of the Author.*

Thus far I adventured to vindicate our Religion, Laws, and Liberties with my pen; in discharge of my Conscience, and pursuance of our National Covenant, which obligeth us to defend them against whosoever to our power, neither knowing nor caring whether in so wicked an age (wherein vice is honoured, and vertue contemned) I may be thought worthy of punishment for being more righteous than my superiors. I know an honest man is wondred at like a monster, and the innocency of his life and conversation suspected as a Libel against the State, yet if I perish I perish; *& perundum in licitis*: nor am I less provided of a safe retreat than our *Grandees*, my grave is open for me, and one foot in it already. *Contempsit omnes ille qui mortem prius.* He that contemns Death, scorns both Hope and Fear; which are the only affections that make Knaves, Fools and Cowards of all the World. The world is a goodly Theater, we are the actors, God is Poet and chief spectator; we must not choose our own parts, that is at Gods appointment; one man he appoints to play the King, another the Begger; one a Comick, another a Tragick part; whatsoever part God hath appointed for me in this remainder of my life, I will have a care to personate it ingenuously and aptly, not doubting but my *Exit* shall be accompanied with an applause into my Tyring-room, my Tombe; nor will I refuse the meanest part that may draw a plaudit from so excellent a spectator, but will prepare my self for the worst of evills in this worst of times, and pray to God to Reform our Reformers. *Amen.*

THE END.

THE HISTORY OF INDEPENDENCY.

WITH

The Rise, Growth, and Practices of that powerfull and restlesse FACTION.

D. AMBROSIUS.

Nec nobis ignominiosum est pati quod passus est Christus, nec vobis glorioſum est facere quod fecit Judas.

TACIT.

Scelera, sceleribus, tuenda.

VIRGILIUS.

——*sua cuique Deus fit dira libido.*

1 St. JOHN, c. 2. v. 16.

Quicquid est in mundo est concupiscentia oculorum, concupiscentia carnis, aut superbia vitæ.

LONDON,
Printed in the Year 1648.

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
FROM THE LIBRARY
OF F. L. GAY
NOV. 2, 1918

Reader,

Gentle or ungentle, I write to all, *knowing that all have now got almoſt an equall ſhare and intereſt in this Gallimaufry or Hotchpot which our Grandee Pſeudo-Politicians with their negative and demoliſhing Councils have made, both of Church and Commonwealth: and therefore I write in* a mixed ſtile, *in which (I dare ſay) there are ſome things fit to hold the* judgements of the Graveſt; *ſome things fit to* catch the fancies of the Lighteſt; *and ſome things of a* middle nature, *applying my ſelf to* all capacities, *(as far as truth will permit) becauſe I fore-ſee the* Cataſtrophe *of this* Tragedy *is more likely to be conſummated by* multitude of hands, *than* wiſedome of heads. *I have been a curious obſerver, and diligent inquirer, after, not only the* Actions, *but the* Counſels *of theſe times; and I here preſent the reſult of my indeavours to thee:* In a time of miſ-apprehenſions *it is good to avoid miſtakings, and therefore I adviſe thee not to apply what I ſay* to the Parliment, or Army in generall, *if any phraſe that hath dropped from my pen in haſt (for this is a work of haſt) ſeem to look aſquint upon them: No, it is the* Grandees, *the* Junto-men, *the* Hocas-Pocaſſes, *the* ſtate-Mountebanks, *with their* Zanyes *and* Jack-puddings, Committee-men, Sequeſtrators,, Treaſurers, *and* Agitators,

tors *under them, that are here historified: were the* Parliament *(the major part whereof is in bondage to the minor part and their Janisaries) and the* Army *freed from these usurping and engaged* Grandees, *who betrayed the Honour and Priviledges of Parliament & the Army to their own lusts, both would stand right, and be serviceable to the setling of a* firm lasting Peace under the King, *upon our* first Principles, Religion, Laws, and Liberties, *which are now so far laid by, that whosoever will not joyn with the* Grandees, *in subverting them, is termed a* Malignant, *as heretofore he that would not adhere to the* Parliament *in supporting them was accounted; so that the* definition *of a* Malignant *is turned the wrong side outward. The body of the Parliament and Army (in the midst of these distempers) is yet healthy, sound, serviceable; my endeavour is therefore to play the part of a friendly Physitian, and preserve the body by purging peccant humors: Were the Army under commanders and officers of better Principles, who had not defiled their fingers with* publick monies, *their consciences by* complying *with, and* cheating all interests, (King, Parliament, People, City, *and* Scots) *for their own private ends, I should think that they carried the Sword of the Lord, and of* Gideon; *but clean contrary to the Image presented to* Nebuchadnezzar *in a dream, the head and upper parts of this aggregate body are part of Clay, part of Iron, the lower parts of better metall: I cannot reform, I can but admonish; God must be both the* Æsculapius *and* Prometheus, *and amend all, and though we receive never so many* denials, *never so many* repulses *from him, let us take heed how we vote (even in the private corners of our hearts) no* Addresses, *no* Applications *to Him. Let us take heed of multiplying sins against God, lest he permit our* Schismatical Grandees to multiply Armies and Forces *upon us, to war against Heaven as well as against our Religion, Laws, Liber-*

ties,

ties, and Properties upon earth, and keep us and our estates under the perpetual bondage of the Sword, which hath been several ways attempted in the Houses these 2 last weeks both for the raising and keeping of a new Army of 30000. or 40000. men in the seven Northern Associate Counties, upon established pay (besides this Army in the South) and *also for the* raising of men in each County of England, *and all to be engrossed into the hands of his Excellency, and such Commanders and Officers as he shall set over them; and this work may chance be carried on by the* Grandees *of* Derbyhouse *and the Army, if not prevented; for the Generall (notwithstanding this power was denyed him in the House of Commons) hath sent warrants into most Counties to raise Horse and Foot; yea, to that baseneſſe of Slavery hath our Generall and Army, with their under-Tyrants the* Grandees, *brought us, that although themselves did heretofore set the* rascality *of the Kingdom on work in great multitudes (especially the* Schismaticall party*) to clamour upon the Parliament with* scandalous Petitions, *and make peremptory demands to the Houses, destructive to the* Religion, Laws, Liberties, *and* Properties of the Land, *and the very* foundation of Parliaments; *to which they extorted what answers they pleased; and got a generall vote,* That it was the undoubted right of the Subject to Petition, and afterwards to acquiesce in the wisedome and justice of the two Houses: *Yet when upon 16 of* May 1648. *the whole County of* Surry *(in effect) came in so civill a posture to deliver a petition to the house, that they were Armed for the most part but with sticks, in which Petition there is* nothing contained which the Parliament is not bound to make good *by their many* Declarations and Remonstrances *to the people, or by the* Oathes of Allegiance, Supremacy, *or* Nationall Covenant, *or by the* known Laws of this Land. *Yet were they,* 1. *Abused by the Souldiers of*

White-hall *as they passed by, where some of them were pulled in and beaten. 2. When those Gentlemen of quality that carried the Petition came to* Westminster-hall, *they found a Guard of Souldiers at the door, uncivilly opposing their entrance to make their addresses to the House. 3. When they pressed into the Hall, and got up to the Commons door, they were there reviled by the Guard. 4. The Multitude which stood in the new* Palace, *(because some of them did but whoop as others did, who were purposely set on work (as is conceived) to mix with them & disorder them) were suddenly surrounded with a strong party of horse from the* Mews, *and some more Companies of Foot from* White-hall, *who by the appointment of the Committee of Schismaticks at* Derby-House *were ready prepared for this design, and catched them (as it were) in a Toyle, and with barbarous and schismatical rage fell upon these naked unarmed Petitioners, slew and wounded many without distinction, telling them,* They were appointed to give an answer to their Petition, and they should have no other; *(as indeed they had not) though the Lieut. Colonell that did all the mischief, was called into the House of Commons, and had publick thanks given him at the Bar, took many of them Prisoners, & Plundred their Pockets, Cloaks, Hats, Swords, Horses, & some of them (even Gentlemen of as good quality as their General) were stripped of their doublets: those Gentlemen of quality who where in the* Lobby *before the Commons door, civily expecting an answer, were abused, and violently driven out by the Guard, to take their fortune among the Rabble; what* Tyrants *ever in the World* refused to heare the Petitions *and* grievances *of their people before? The most Tyranicall government of the world is that of* Russia, *and* Jo. Vasilowich *was the greatest Tyrant of that Nation, yet shall this Tyrant rise up in judgement at the latter day against these Monsters. Behold what entertainment your Petitioners shall have hereafter, if publick Peace be the end of*

It is reported by some that Sir *H. Mildmay*, Col. *Purefoy* & the Speaker (doubting the House would give too good an answer to their Petition) sent for these Horse and Foot.

their

their deſires: yet many Petitions ready drawn are ſent up and down in moſt Counties by Committee-men, and Sequeſtrators, to enforce men to give thanks for the four votes againſt the King; *and many Petitions from Schiſmaticks, deſtructive to Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Property, have been obtruded upon the Houſes, and received encouragement and thanks, becauſe they tend to* ſubvert the fundamental Government *of* Church *and* Common-wealth, *and caſt all into the* Chaos of confuſion, *whereby the* Grandees may have occaſion to keep up this Army, *and perpetuate their Tyranny and our burdens. And from theſe Tumults of their own raiſing, the grandees pretend a neceſſity to keep this Army about this Town, to watch advantages againſt it.* Cromwell *having often ſaid,* This Town muſt be brought to more abſolute obedience, or laid in the duſt; *in order to which,* the Souldiers are now diſarming the Country, *and then* the City is next, *who being once diſarmed, muſt proſtitute their* mony-baggs to theſe fellows, *or be* Plundered.

Reader, *having ſpoken my ſenſe to thee, I leave thee to thy own ſenſe; ſubmitting my ſelf to as much Charity as God hath endowed thee withall.* God that made all, preſerve and amend all, *This ſhall be the daily prayer of him that had rather die for his Country, than ſhare with theſe* Godly Thieves, *in eating out the bowels of his Country, and enriching himſelf with publick ſpoyls.*

The History of INDEPENDENCY.

YOU have in *The mystery of the two Juntoes, Presbyterian and Independent*, presented to your view these two Factions, (as it were in a Cockpit pecking at one another) which rising originally from the two Houses and Synod, have so much disturbed and dislocated, in every joynt, both Church and Common-wealth. I must now set before you *Independency* Triumphant, rousing it self upon its Legs, clapping its wings, and crowing in the midst of the Pit, with its enemy under its feet, though not yet well resolved what use it can or may make of its Victory. *The Preamble.*

But before I go any farther, it is fit I tell you what *Independency* is.

1 *What Independency is.*

It is *Genus generalissimum* of all Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and Schisms; a general Name and Title under which they are all united, as *Sampson's* Foxes were by the *Tails*. And though they have several opinions and fancies (which make their *vertiginous heads* turn different wayes) yet profit and preferment (being their *Tails*) their last and ultimate end by which they are governed (like a Ship by his Rudder) and wherein they mutually correspond; the rest of their differences being but circumstantial are easily plaister'd over with the *untempered Morter* of hypocricy by their *Rabbies* of the Assembly, and their *Grandees* of the two Houses and Army, in whom they have an *implicite faith*. As *Mahomet's* Alchoran was the Gallemaufry of Jew and Christian; so are they a Composition of Jew, Christian, and Turk; with the Jew they arrogate to be the peculiar people of God,

Independency is compounded of Judaism.

the Godly, the Saints, who only have right unto the Creatures, and should possess the good things of this World, all others being Usurpers; a Tenent so destructive to humane society and civil Government, that by vertue hereof they may and do by fraud, or force, Tax, eat up with Free-quarter, cozen and plunder the whole Kingdom, and count it but robbing the Egyptians: To this purpose they overthrow all the Judicatures, Laws, and Liberties of the Land, and set up Arbitrary Committees, Martial-Law, and *Weather-cock* Ordinances in their room, *made* and *unmade* by their own over-powring faction in Parliament at pleasure, with the help and terror of their *Janisaries*, attending at their doors.

Christianism. With the Christian, some of them (but not all) acknowledge the Scriptures, but so far only as they will serve their turns, to *Pharise* themselves, and *Publican* all the World besides; men filled with spiritual pride, meer Enthusiastiques, of a speculative and high flying Religion, too high for Earth, and too low for Heaven; whereas a true and fruitful Religion (like *Jacob's* Ladder) *Stat pede in terris, caput inter nubila condit*, must have one end upon earth, as well as the other in Heaven. He that acknowledgeth the duties of the first table to God, and neglecteth the duty of the second table to Man, is an Hypocrite both against God and Man.

Turcism. With the Turk they subject all things, even Religion, Laws, and Liberties (so much cried up by them heretofore) to the power of the Sword, ever since by undermining practices and lies they have jugled the *States Sword* into the *Independent Scabbard*.

The Earl of *Essex* and Sir *Will. Waller* undermined to let in the Independents. The Earl of *Essex*, General of all the Parliaments Forces (a man though popular and honest, yet stubbornly stout, fitter for Action than Counsel, and apter to get a victory than improve it) must be laid by, and his Forces reduced. The like for Sir *William Waller* and his Forces; that Commanders of *Independent* Principles and Interests, with Soldiers suitable to them, might by degrees be brought into their room to reap the harvest of those crops which they had sowen.

This was the ground-work of the *Independent* design, to monopolize the power of the Sword into their hands.

This could not be better effected than by dashing the *Earl* of *Essex*

Essex and Sir *William Waller* one against another: for which purpose the hot-headed Schismatique Sir *A. Hasterigge* was employed with Sir *William Waller* and some others (whose Ashes I will spare) with the E. of *Essex* to break them one upon another. This was at last effected by taking advantage of their several misfortunes: the one at *Listethyell* in *Cornwall*, the other at the *Devises* in *Wiltshire*, where *Hasterigge* (a man too ignorant to command, and too insolent to obey) not staying for the foot, who lay round about the *Devises* in a storming posture, charged up a steep hill with his Horse onely against the Lord *Wilmots* Party, one Division so far from another, that the second Division could not relieve the first, thereby freeing Sir *Ralph Hopton* from an assured overthrow, and bestowing an unexpected Victory on the L. *Wilmot*: he received a wound in his flight, the smart whereof is still so powerfully imprinted in his memory, that he abhors fighting ever since; witnesse his praying and crying out of Gun-shot at the Battle at *Cheriton*, when he should have fought; and his complaints openly made in the House of Commons of the Earl of *Stanford* for Bastonadoing him. Which rashnesse of his (if it deserve not a worse name) was so far from being discountenanced, that he received not long after a gift of 6500l. from the House, and is lately made Governour of *Newcastle*, and 3000l. given him to repair the works there. I shall not need the Spirit of Prophecy to foresee, that the tenth part of the said 3000l. will not be bestowed upon those Works. Thus was he favoured by his party in the House, who were thought to look upon this action as an acceptable service.

3 The Earl of *Manchester* undermined.

In farther porgresse of this design, *Manchester* (a Lord, and therefore not to be confided in) was undermined and accused by his Lievt. General *Cromwell* of high Crimes, whom he again recriminated with a Charge of as high a nature; and when all men were high in expectation of the event, it grew to be a drawn battle between them; whereby, all men concluded them both guilty: *Manchester* was discarded.

Out of the ashes of these three arose that Phœnix (forsooth a new moddell'd Army, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, a Gentleman of an irrational and brutish valour, fitter to follow another mans counsel than his own, and obnoxious to

Cromwel, and the *Independent faction* (upon whose bottome he stands) for his preferment, it being no dishonour to him to become the property to a powerful Faction.

4 The Victories of the new model how atchieved.

It pleased God to bestow many Victories upon this Army over the Kings Forces, then strong in bulk, but weakned by Factions, want of pay, and other distractions (wherby many of their Commanders not confiding in one another, began to provide for their future safety and subsistence) but above all, they had generally lost the peoples affections. To these their Victories, the constant pay, and supplies, and all other helps and encouragements from a concurring State, which their working and *restless Faction* carefully accommodated them withal, (far beyond what any other Army had formerly) did much conduce, in so much as they cleared the Field, and took in all the enemies Garisons, with so much facility, that to many men they seemed rather *Cauponantes bellum quam belligerantes*, to conquer with silver than with steel: a good Purse is a shrewd weapon.

5 Artifices to make *Cromwel* and his new Model popular.

Thus this Faction having got a General fit for their turn, and a Lievtenant General wholly theirs in judgement and interest, were diligent to make him famous and popular, by casting upon him the honour of other mens atchievements and valour. The News-books taught to speak no language but *Cromwel*, and his Party; and were mute in such actions as he and they could claim no share in; for which purpose the Presses were narrowly watched. When any great exploit was half atchieved, and the difficulties overcome, *Cromwel* was sent to finish it, and take the glory to himself, all other men must be eclipsed, that *Cromwel* (the *Knight of the Sun*, and *Don Quixot* of the *Independents*) and his Party may shine the brighter.

6 The new Model new-modelled by degrees to put the Sword into the hands of Schismaticks.

And that *Cromwels* Army might be suitable to himself, and their Designs carried on without interruption or observation of such as are not of their Principles, all the Sectaries of *England* are invited to be Reserves to this Army; and all pretences of scandals and crimes laid hold of at their own Councils of War, to cashеer and disband the Presbyterian party, that *Independents* might be let into their rooms, though such as (for the most part) never drew Sword before: so that this Army (which boasteth it self for the Deliverer, nay the Conquerour of two Kingdoms) is

no

no more the same that fought at *Nazeby*, than Sir *Francis Drake's* Ship that brought him home, can be called the same Ship that carried him forth about the Earth, having been so often repaired, and therefore suffered so many substractions and additions, that hardly any of the old vessel remained. It was therefore nominally and formally, not really and materially the same.

The said *mystery of the two Juntoes* farther tells you, that the Independent *Junto* bottomed all their hopes and interests upon keeping up this Army, whereby to give the Law to King, Kingdom, Parliament and City, and to establish that *Chimera* called *Liberty of Conscience*. That this was *Cromwels* ambition formerly, the Earl of *Manchester's* aforesaid Charge against *Cromwel* (though let fall without prosecution, lest so great a mystery should be discovered) makes it probable, and his later practices upon which I now fall makes it infallible.

7. The Army voted to be disbanded through *Cromwels* craft.

The Houses long since (for ease of the people) in a full and free Parliament, ordained the disbanding of this Army: only 5000. Horse, 1000. Dragoons, and some few Fire-locks to be continued in pay for safety of this Kingdom, and some of them to be sent for *Ireland*: for which purpose they borrowed 200000 l. of the City (being the same sum which disbanded the Scots) and for the rest of their Arrears, they were to have Debenters and Security without all exceptions; such terms of advantage as no other disbanded Souldiers have had the like, neither are these like to attain to again: so that they have brought the Souldiers into a loss, as well as into a labyrinth; their continuing in arms without, nay, against *lawful Authority*, being a manifest act of Treason and Rebellion, and so it is looked upon by the whole Kingdom; nor can the Parliaments subsequent Ordinances (which all men know to be extorted by force, as hereafter shall appear) help them.

To the passing of this Ordinance, *Cromwels* Protestation in the House with his hand upon his brest, *In the presence of Almighty God, before whom he stood, that he knew the Army would disband and lay down their Arms at their door, whensoever they should command them*, conduced much: this was maliciously done of *Cromwel* to set the Army at a greater distance with the Presbyterian Party, and bring them and the Independent party neerer

together; he knew the Army abominated nothing more than Disbanding and returning to their old Trades, and would hate the Authors thereof.

8. Agitators raised by *Cromw.*

And at the same time when he made these protests in the House, he had his Agitators (*Spirits* of his and his Son *Ireton's* conjuring up in the Army, though since conjured down by them without requital) to animate them against the major part of the House (under the notion of *Royalists*, a *Malignant party* and *Enemies to the Army*) to engage them against *Disbanding* and *going* for *Ireland*, and to make a Traiterous Comment upon the said Ordinance, to demand an *Act of Indemnity*, and relie upon the advice of Judge *Jenkins* for the validity of it, and to insist upon many other high damands; some private, as Souldiers; some publique, as States-men.

9. The beginning of the project to purge the Houses.

10. The Army put into mutiny against the Parliament, whereby *Cromwell* monopolizeth the Army.

Cromwell having thus by mutinying the Army against the Parliament, made them his own, and monopolized them, (as he did formerly his Brew-house at *Ely*) which he might easily do, having before-hand filled most of the chief Officers in the Army with his own kindred, allyes, and friends, (of whose numerous family, Lievt. Col. *Lilburn* gives you a list in one of his Books) he now flies to the Army, doubting (his practises discoverd) he might be imprisoned: where he and *Ireton* assuming Offices to themselves, acted without Commission; having not only been ousted by the self-denying Ordinance, (if it be of any power against the godly) but also their several Commissions being then expired; and Sir *Thomas Fairfax* having no authority to make General Officers, as appears by his Commission (if he make any account of it) and therefore *Sprig*, alias *Nathaniel Fines*, in his Legend or Romance of this Army, called *Anglia Rediviva*, sets down two Letters sent from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to the Speaker *William Lenthal*, one to desire *Cromwel's* continuance in the Army, another of thanks for so long forbearing him from the House: see *Ang. Red. p.* 10, 11, 29. which needed not, had he been an Officer of the Army.

11. *Cromwel's* family in the Army.

12. *Cromwel and Ireton* usurp Offices in the Army.

And now both of them bare-faced, and openly, joyn with the Army at *Newmarket*, in trayterous Engagements, Declarations, Remonstrances, and Manifesto's; and Petitions penn'd by *Cromwel* himself, were sent to some Counties to be subscribed, against

supposed

ſuppoſed Obſtructors of juſtice, and Invaders of the Peoples Liberties in Parliament; and the Army at *Newmarket* and *Triplo-Heath* prompted to cry, *juſtice, juſtice* againſt them; and high and treaſonable demands, deſtructive to the fundamental priviledges of Parliament were publickly inſiſted upon; many of which for quietneſſe ſake, and out of compaſſion to bleeding *Ireland*, were granted; yet theſe reſtleſs ſpirits (hurried on to further deſigns) made one impudent demand beget another, and when by Letters and otherwiſe they had promiſed, *That if their then preſent demands were granted, they would there ſtop and acquieſce*; yet when they ſeemed to have done, they had not done, but deluded and evaded all hopes of Peace by miſ-apprehenſion, and miſ-conſtruction of the Parliaments conceſſions; making the miſ-interpretations of one grant, the generation of another demand, ſo that almoſt ever ſince the Parliament hath nothing elſe to do but encounter this *Hydra* and *roll this ſtone*.

Having thus debauched the Army, he plotted in his own Chamber the ſecuring the Gariſon, Magazine, and Train of Artilery at *Oxford*, and ſurprizing the Kings perſon at *Holdenby*; which by his Inſtrument Coronet *Joyce*, with a commanded party of Horſe, he effected; and when *Joyce* (giving *Cromwel* an account of that action) told him, *He had now the King in his power*; well (replied *Cromwel*) *I have then the Parliament in my Pocket*. O inſolent Slave! O ſlaviſh *Engliſh!* thus to ſuffer your King and Parliament, together with your Wives and Children, Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Properties, to be Captivated by ſo contemptible a Varlet. If our Noble Anceſtors (who vindicated their Liberties, and got *Magna Charta* by the Sword) ſhall look down from Heaven, and ſee their Poſterity ſo cowardly reſign them to a handfull of bloody, cheating Shiſmaticks, they will not own us, but take us for *Ruſſian* Slaves, *French* Peaſants, and cry out, that we are a Baſtard brood, *Servi natura*, born for bondage; yet afterwards (having recourſe to his uſual *familiarity with Almighty God*) *Cromwel* uſed his Name to proteſt his ignorance and innocence in that buſineſſe, both to the *King* and *Parliament*, adding an execration upon his Wife and Children to his proteſtation; yet *Joyce* is ſo free from puniſhment, that he is ſince preferred, and his Arrears paid by their means;

Securing *Oxford*, & plundring the King from *Holdenby*

means; and though both Houses required the Army to send his Royal Person to *Richmond*, to be there left in the hands of the Parliaments Commissioners, whereby both Kingdoms might freely make addresses to him, (for they had formerly excluded and abused the Scots Commissioners, contrary to the law of Nations, and Votes of both Houses, and yet then granted free access to the most desperate persons of the *Kings Party*) yet they could obtain no better answer from these *Rebellious Saints*, than *That they desired no place might be proposed for his Majesties residence nearer* London, *than where they would allow the Quarters of the Army to be.* This was according to their old threats of marching up to *London*, frequently used when any thing went contrary to their desires; they knew what dangerous and troublesome guests we should find them here.

Manifesto of the Army *June* 27. 1647

How much is this Army degenerated since *Cromwel* and his demure white-livered Son-in-law *Ireton* poysoned their manners with new principles? *Anglia Rediviva p.* 247. tells us, that about *Woodstock*, private overtures were made by some from Court for receiving his Majesty, who was minded to cast himself upon the Army; but such was their faithfulness in that point, that conceiving it derogatory to the honour and power of Parliament, (for his Majesty to wave that highest Court, and address himself to any others) and therefore inconsistent with their trust and duty, being servants of the State, they certified the Parliament thereof, and understanding it to be against their sense also, they absolutely refused to be tampered with. Oh, how faithful then! how perfidious and *Cromwellized* are they now! let their frequent tampering with the *King and His Party*, to the amazement of the Kingdom, and the *abusing of the King*, testifie. Read *Putney Projects* written by a considerable Officer of the Army, and a friend to *Cromwel*, though not to his false practices.

14. Their project to keep the Parliament in Wardship.

Having thus gotten the *King* (the *first* and most visible legal authority of *England*) into their possession, their next design is to get the *Parliament* (the *second* legal authority of *England*) into their power.

15. Purging the Houses again.

This could not be effected but by purging the two Houses of *Presbyterian Members* (especially the most active, and such as had laboured their disbanding) that an *Independent* Parliament and Army

Army might govern the Kingdom: In order to which design they sent to the House of Commons in the name of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and the *Army*, a general and confused Charge of High Treasons and other mis-demeanours against *eleven Members*, for things done (for the most part in the House) and many of the principal, such as the House had long before examined and acquitted them of, and such as the whole Kingdom knows *Cromwel* and *Ireton* to be apparently guilty of; as, *Trucking with the King, &c.*

16. Accusing the 11. Members.

One cheif Article insisted upon in the Charge was, *That by their power in the House, they caused the Ordinance for Disbanding this Army to pass.* Here you see where the shooe wrings them; This Charge was not subscribed by any informer that ingaged to make it good, or else to suffer punishment, and make the House and the parties accused, reparations: as by the *Stat.* 25. *Ed.* 3. *c.* 4. 27. *Ed.* 3. *c.* 18. 38. *Ed.* 3. *c.* 9. 17. *R.* 2. *c.* 6. 15. *H.* 6. *c.* 4. but especially by 31. *H.* 6. *c.* 1. concerning *Jack Cade* (which comes nearest this case) ought to be; and they professed in the 2. 3. 4. Article of their Charge, *That they were dis-obliged and discouraged from any further engagement in the Parliament service, or* Irelands *preservation; And demanded the House should forthwith suspend the impeached Members from any longer sitting and acting.* Whereupon, the House after full debate in a full and free Parliament, *Resolved*, June 25. 1647. *That by the Laws of the Land no judgment could be given for their suspension upon that general Charge, before particulars produced, and proof made*; Yet the Army (which had now learned only to acquiesce in their own prudence and justice) insolently threatned to march up to *Westminster* against the Parliament, in case the said 11 Members were not suspended; and courted the City of *London* to sit Newters, and let them work their will with the Parliament.

17. Threats to march up to *London*.

18. *London* solicited to sit Newters.

The 11. impeached Members therefore modestly withdrew to free the House from such danger, as they might incur by protecting them, as in Justice and Honour they were bound to do: After this, the Army sent in their particular Charge; and libellously published it in print by their own Authority. To which the 11. Members sent in, and published their Answer. Upon which there hath been no prosecution, because they pretend first

to settle the Kingdom, but if they stay till these fellows have either authority, will, or skill to settle the Kingdom, they shall not need to make ready for their tryal till Dooms-day; Here you have a whole Army for Accusers, and the chief Officers of the Army (being Members of the House) not only accusers, but parties, Witnesses, and Judges, and carrying the Rules of Court, and Laws by which they judge, in their Scabards. And the Charge of Impeachment, such (as all men know) *mutatis mutandis* are more suitable to *Cromwells* and *Iretons* actions, than the accused Parties. If the proceeding in the Kings name against the 5 Members mentioned in *The exact Collection part.* 1. *p.* 38. were Voted *A Trayterous design against King and Parliament*, and the arresting any of them upon the Kings Warrant, *an Act of publick enmity against the Common-wealth*: How much more *Treasonable* were these proceedings; and the Armies March towards *London* to enforce them; and their arresting *Anthony Nichols*, having the Speakers Passe, and leave of the House; Colonel *Burch*, being upon service of the Parliament going for *Ireland*; and Sir *Samuel Luke*, resting quiet in his own house?

19. The first occasion of quarrel against the City.

Whilst these things were acting, *Cromwel* finding he could not have his will upon the Parliament, but that he must make the City of *London* (who had denied the neutrality) his Enemies, cast about how to cheat the Country people of their affections; (for to have both City and Country his Enemies in the posture his Army was then in, was dangerous) he therefore by many Printed Books and Papers, spread all *England* over by his Agitators, and by some Journey-men Priests (whose *Pulpits* are the best *Juglers boxes* to deceive the simple) *Absolom*-like, wooeth them to make loud Complaints of the pressures and grievances of the People to neglect the King and the Parliament, and make Addresses to the Army as their only Saviours, the Arbitrators of Peace, Restorers of our Laws, Liberties and Properties, Setlers of Religion, Preservers of all just interests: pretended to settle the King in his just Rights and Prerogatives; to uphold the Privileges of Parliament, establish Religion, to reform, and bring to account all Committees, Sequestrators, and all others that had defiled their fingers with publique money or goods; To free the people from that all devouring Excise and other Taxes; to redress.

20. Courting and cheating the Country and all other interests to lull them asleep till the Grandees had wrought their will upon the City and Houses.

21. Petitions to the Army, and for the Army.

dresse undue elections of Members; To relieve *Ireland*: Things impossible to be performed by an Army, and now totally forgotten; so that they have only accepted of their own private demands as Souldiers; That the Parliament should own them for *their Army*; Establish pay for them; put the whole *Militia* of this Kingdom, and *Ireland* both by Sea and Land, into their Hands, and Vote against all opposite Forces. But they are now become the only Protectors of all corrupt Committee-men, Sequestrators, Accomptants to the State, and all other facinorous persons, who comply with them to keep up this Army, for their own security against publick justice.

Having thus courted and cheated all the publick and just Interests of the Kingdom, they deceived the people so far as to make them *Issachar*-like, patiently to bear the *burden of free-quarter*, and to make addresses to the Army for themselves; by Petitions, to which they gave plausible answers, That *this*, and *this was the sense of the Army*: As if the sense of the Army had been the supreme Law of the Land, and to make addresses to the Parliament for the Army not to be disbanded, (for which purpose their *Agitators* carried Petitions ready penned to be subscribed in most Counties.)

22. A quarrel against the City invented.

The People being thus lulled asleep, they now cast about how to make benefit of a joynt quarrel both against the Parliament and City, (since they could not separate them) or at least against the Presbyterian party in both; they had withdrawn their quarters (in a seeming obedience to Parliaments commands) 30 miles from *London* (of which they often brag in their Papers) and presumed the suspension of the 11. Members, had struck such an awfulness into the Houses, that most of the Presbyterian Members would either absent themselves, (as too many indeed did) or turn Renegadoes from their own principles to them: but found themselves notwithstanding opposed, and their desires retarded (beyond their expectation) by the remainder of that party. They must therefore find out a quarrel to march against the City, and give the Houses another Purge, stronger than the former.

23. The Army demand the City Militia to be changed into other hands.

The Army being principled, and put into a posture suitable to *Cromwels* desire, and the Country charmed into a dull sleep, now was his time to pick a quarrel with the City, that what he could

not obtain by fair means, he might obtain by foul, to make them desert and divide from the Parliament, and leave it to be modelled according to the discretion of the Souldiery. He could not think it agreeable to policy, that the City which had slain his Compeer and fellow Prince *Wat Tyler* (the Idol of the Commons in *Richard* the seconds time) and routed his followers (four times as many in number as this Army) should be trusted with their own *Militia*, the City being now greater, more populous and powerfull than in his days. In a full and free Parliament upon mature debate, both Houses by Ordinance (dated 4 *May* 1647.) had established the *Militia* of the City of *London* for a year, in the hands of such Citizens, as by their Authority and approbation were nominated by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council; and though the Army had recruted it self without Authority, and had got themselves invested with the whole power of all the Land forces of the Kingdom in pay of the Parliam. so that there was nothing left that could be formidable to them but *their own crimes*; and that it was expected they should go roundly to work upon those publick remedies they had so often held forth to the people in their popular Printed Papers: Yet the Army (contrary to what they promised to the City in their *Letter* 10. *June*, and their *Declaration* or *Representation*, 14 *June*, 1647. *That they would not go beyond their desires at that time expressed, and for other particulars would acquiesce in the Justice and wisdom of the Parliament* (behold their modesty!) by a *Letter* and *Remonstrance* from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and the Army, with unresisted boldness demanded the *Militia* of the City of *London* to be returned into other hands, without acquainting the City of their Commissioners (then resident in the Army to keep a good correspondency with them) therewith; upon which Letter alone, the House of Commons (being very thin, and many Members driven away by menaces) upon *July* 22. Voted the repealing the said Vote of 4 *May*, and a new Ordinance for reviving the old *Militia*, presently passed and transmitted to the Lords the same day about seven of the clock at night, and there presently passed without debate, though moved by some to be put off until the City (whose safety and privileges it highly concerned) were heard what they could say to it.

See the Letter and Remonstrance from Sir *Tho. Fairfax* and the Army, p. 8. 9.

Observe

Observe that neither by the said Paper from the Army; nor by any man in the two Houses, any thing was objected against any of the new *Militia*.

And indeed, formerly the Parliament never made choice of, enlarged, or changed the City *Militia*, but they were still pleased first to communicate the same to the Common-Council; a Respect justly shewed to that City which had been such good friends to them; but of late, since the Parliament have shifted their old Principles and Interests, they have learned to lay by their old Friends. The pretence for this hasty passing the Ordinance, was to prevent the Armies so much theatned march to *London*, if the Houses refused to pass it; and the Cities opposition, if not passed before their notice of it. But the real design was to strike a discontent and jealousie into the City, thereby to force them to some act of self-defence, which might give a colour to the Army to march up against them, and their friends in the Houses.

The unexpected news of this changing their *Militia*, caused the City (*June* 24. being Saturday) to meet in Common-Council, where, (for some reasons already expressed) and because the repealing this Ordinance upon no other grounds than the Armies imperious desires, might justly be suspected, to shake all other Ordinances, for security of Money, sale of Bishops Lands, by making them repealable at the Armies pleasure; they resolve to Petition the House upon Monday morning following, being 26. *July*, which they did by the Sheriffs and some Common-Council men; But so it hapned, that about one thousand *Apprentices* wholly unarmed, came down two or three hours after with another Petition, of their own, to the Houses; Therein complaining, that *to Order the Cities Militia was the Cities Birth-right belonging to them by Charters confirmed in Parliament, for defence whereof they had adventured their lives as far as the Army; And desired the Militia might be put again into the same hands in which it was put with the Parliaments and Cities consent by Ordinance*, May 4.

24. The City troubled at the change of their *Militia*.

I appeal to Colonel *Harvy*, whether this did not fright him?

25. The City Petition the Houses for their *Militia* again.

26. The tumult of Apprentices, 26. *July*.

Upon reading these Petitions, the Lords were pleased to revoke the Ordinance of *July* 23. and revive that of *May* 4. by a new Ordinance of *July* 26. which they presently sent down to the Commons for their consents, where some of the Apprentices (presuming they might have as good an influence upon the House to obtain

obtain *their due*, as the Army in pay of the Parliament had to obtain *more than their due*) in a childish heat were over-clamorous to have the Ordinance passed, refusing to let some Members pass out of the House, or come forth into the Lobby when they were to divide upon the question about it, (so ignorant were they of the customes of the House) which at last passed in the affirmative about three of the clock afternoon; and then most of the Apprentices departed quietly into the City. After which, some disorderly person (very few of them Apprentices) were drawn together and instigated by divers Sectaries and friends of the Army who mingled with them (amongst whom one *Highland* was observed to be all that day very active; who afterwards [26. *Sept.*] delivered a Petition to the House against those Members that sate, and was an Informer and Witness examined about the said *Tumult*) gathered about the Commons door and grew very outragious, compelling the Speaker to return to the Chair after he had adjourned the House; and there kept the Members in until they had passed a Vote, *That the King should come to London to Treat.*

27. The Tumult of Apprentices ceased, but artificially continued by Sectaries.

This was cunningly and premeditately contrived, to encrease *the scandal upon the City*; yet when the Common-Council of *London* heard of this disorder as they were then sitting; they presently sent down the Sheriffs to their rescue with such strength as they could get ready (their *Militia* being then unsetled by the contradicting Ordinances of the Parliament) who at last pacified the Tumult, and sent the Speaker safe home; which was as much as they could do in this interval of their *Militia*, being the Houses own Act.

28. The Speaker of the Commons complained of a report, that he meant to flie to the Army; yet run away to the Army;

The Lords adjourned until the next Friday; the Commons but until the next day. Tuesday morning the Commons sate again quietly, and after some debate adjourned until Friday next, because the Lords had done so.

The next day being Wednesday, the *monthly Fast*, the Speaker and Members met in *Westminster* Church; where the Speaker complained (in some passion) to Sir *Ralph Asheton* and other Members, of a scandalous report raised on him in the City, as if he intended to desert the House, and fly to the Army, saying, *he scorned to do such a base, unjust, dishonorable act; but would rather die in his House and Chair*: which being spoken in a time and place

place of so much reverence and devotion, makes many think his secret retreat to the Army (the very next day) proceeded not so much from his own judgment, as from some strong threats from *Cromwel* and *Ireton* (who were the chief contrivers of this desperate plot to divide the City and Houses, and bring up the Army to enthrall them both) *That if he did not comply with their desires, they would cause the Army to impeach him for consening the State of many vast sums of money.*

And truly I remember I have seen an intercepted Letter, sent about the time of his flight, from the Army to *Will. Lenthal* Speaker without any name subscribed to it, only the two last lines were of *John Rushworths* hand; earnestly importuning *him to retire to the Army, with his friends.*

29. The City proclaim against Tumults.

On Thursday morning early, the newly renewed *Militia* of *London*, made publick Proclamation throughout the City and Suburbs, and set up printed Tickets at *Westminster, That if any person should disturb either of the two Houses or their Members, the Guards should apprehend them, and if resistance were made, kill them*; yet notwithstanding, the Speaker and his party, (carrying the causes of their fear in their own consciences) in the evening of that day secretly stole away to *Windsor* to the Head-quarters.

30. The Houses appear, the Speakers being at the Army.

Upon Friday morning at least 140 of the Members assembled in the House (they that fled being about 40.) whither the Serjeant comming with his Mace, being asked where the *Speaker was?* answered, *He knew not well; that he had not seen him that morning, and was told he went a little way out of Town last night*; but said, *he expected his return to the House this morning*: after that, being more strictly questioned about the Speaker, he withdrew himself, and would not be found, till the House (after four hours expectation, and sending some of their Members to the Speakers house, who brought word from his Servants, that *they conceived he was gone to the Army*) had chosen a *new Speaker*, Master *Henry Pelham*, and a new Sergeant, who procured another Mace.

31. New Speakers chosen.

The like (*mutatis mutandis*) was done by the Lords, to prevent discontinuance and fayler of the Parliament for want of Speakers to adjourn and so to continue it; and take away all scruples.

32. Petition and Engagement of the City.

As for the *Petition and Engagement of the City* (so much aggravated

vated by the *Independent party.*) it was directed to the *Lord Mayor, Aldermen,* and *Common-Council*; from divers *Citizens, Commanders* and *Souldiers*, and was occasioned by some intelligence they had, that the *Army would demand an alteration of the City Militia, in order to a design they had against the City.* It was only intended to the Common Hall, but never presented, as the *Souldiers Petition* was to their *General*, which being taken notice of by the Parliament as it was in agitation, was so much resented by the Souldiery, as to put themselves into the posture they are now in (as Lieut. Col. *Lilburn* says in one of his books) to act no longer by their Commission, but by the principles of Nature and self-defence; nor did the said *Engagement* contain any thing but *resolutions of self-defence, in relation to the City*; so that we cannot see what the Army had to do to declare their sence upon it in their *Letter* 23. *July*, & so put a prejudice upon it in the Houses. I have insisted the more particularly upon this *Grand Imposture*, as being the *Anvil* upon which they hammered most of their subsequent designs, *violent* and *illegal accusations.*

33. Votes passed after new Speakers chosen.

The new Speakers chosen; *the two Houses proceeded to Vote and Act, as a Parliament.*

And first, *The House of Commons Voted in the eleven impeached Members: next, They revive and set up again the Committee of safety by Ordinance of both Houses, enabling them to joyn with the Committee of the restored City Militia, giving power by several Ordinances to them, to List and raise Forces, appoint Commanders and Officers, issue forth Arms and Ammunition for defence of both Houses and the City against all that should invade them.* Which Votes and preparations for their self-defence (warranted by the same law of Nature, as the Armies papers affirm) were not passed, nor put in execution untill the Army (every day recruited contrary to the Houses Orders) were drawing towards *London*, and had with much scorn disobeyed the Votes and Letter of both Houses, prohibiting them *to come within thirty miles of London.*

34. Members Engagement with the Army.

The Army, to countenance their Rebellion, *draw the two Speakers and fugitive Members to sit in consultation, and pass Votes promiscuously with the Council of War in the nature of a Parliament, and to sign an Engagement* (dat. 4. August) *to live and die*

die with Sir Thomas Fairfax *and the Army under his command*, affirming therein, *that generally throughout, their sense agreeth with the Declaration of Sir* Tho. Fairfax, *and his Council of War, shewing the grounds of their present advance towards the City of* London. In which Declaration, the Council of the Army take upon them to be *supreme Judges over the Parliament*; Telling you who of the two Houses they hold for persons in whom the publick trust of the Kingdom remaineth, and by whose advise they mean to govern themselves in managing the weighty affairs of the Kingdom. They declare against the late choice of a new Speaker by some Gentlemen at *Westminster*; And that as things now stand, there is no free nor legal Parliament sitting, being through the violence (26. *July*) suspended. That the Orders and Votes, &c. passed 29. *July* last, and all such as shall passe in this assembly of some few Lords, and Gentlemen at *Westminster*, are void and null, and ought not to be submitted unto.

Behold here, not only a power without *the Parliament Houses*, judging of the very *essence of a Parliament*, and the validity of their resolutions, but usurping to themselves a *negative Voice*, which they deny to the King; and yet a Schismatical faction in the 2 Houses complying with them, and betraying and prostituting the very being, Honour, and all the fundamental rights and privileges of this and all future Parliaments to an Army of Rebels who refuse to obey their Masters, and disband.

This Engagement so over-leavened the army, that their brutish General sent forth Warrants *to raise the Trained Bands* of some Counties to march with him against the City and both Houses; although Trained Bands are not under any pay of the Parliament; and therefore not under command of the General, by any Order or Ordinance. But what will not a *Fool in Authority* do, when he *is possessed by Knaves?* Miserable man! His Foolery hath so long waited upon *Cromwell's* and *Ireton's* knavery, that it is not safe for him now to see his folly, and throw by his *Cap with a Bell* and *his Bable*.

35. The City send Commissioners to the Army, *Fowke*, *Gibs*, and *Estwick*, by whom they are betrayed.

The Earl of *Essex* died so opportunely, that many suspected his death was artificiall.

Yet the City were so desirous of Peace, that they *sent Commissioners* sundry times *to the Army* to mediate an Accord; Who could

could obtain no more equal terms of Agreement than that *They should yeeld to desert both Houses, and the impeached Members: Call in their Declaration newly Printed and published: Re-Relinquish the Militia: Deliver up all their Forts and Line of Communication to the Army*; together with the Tower of London, *and all the Magazines and arms therein: Disband all their Forces: Turn all the Reformadoes out of the Line: Withdraw all their guards from the Houses: Receive such Guards of Horse and Foot within the Line, as the Army should appoint to guard the Houses: Demolish their works, suffer the whole Army to march in triumph through the City as Conquerours of it and the Parliament, and* (as they often give out) *of the whole Kingdome*: termes which they might have had from the great Turk, had he sate down before them and broken ground.

All which was suddenly and dishonourably yeelded to, and executed according, by such an Army as was not able to fight with one half of the City, had they been united: But they are the *Devils seed-men*, and have sown the *Cockle of Heresies and Schism*, so abundantly in City and Country (especially amongst the more beggarly sort) that these men joyning Principles and interests with the Army, weaken the hands of all opponents. They often brag that they made a civil march, free from Plunder: I Answer, they neither durst nor could do otherwise: their Souldiers being ill armed, and so few, that they were not able to keep stands in the streets, and keep the Avenues while their Fellows dispersed to Plunder. *Charles* 8. with a far greater, and more Victorious Host, durst not offer violence to the far lesse City of *Florence* when *Signior Capons* put an affront upon him in the Town-house; Bidding him *beat his drums, and he would ring their Bells.*

The Army marcheth in

36. Upon the 6. of *August*, 1647. The General brought the fugitive Speakers and Members to the Houses with a strong Party, (who might have returned sooner without a Guard, had not their own crimes and designs hindred them) the two Palaces filled with armed guards, double Files clean through *Westminster hall*, up the stairs to the House of Commons, and so through the Court of Requests to the Lords House, and down stairs again into the old Palace. The Souldiers looking scornfully upon many

The fugitive Members returned.

Members

Members that had sat in the absence of the Speaker, and threatning to cut some of their throats. And all things composed to so ridiculous a terrour, as if they would *bespeak* (without *speaking*) the absence of those Members that sat; placed the Speakers in the Chairs without Vote, out of which they had been justly Voted for deserting their calling; where the General was placed in a *Chair of State*, (enough to make a fool of any man that was not fit for it) and received special thanks for his service from both Speakers. And in the second place, *a day of thanksgiving* was appointed to God, (I think) for his patience in not striking these Atheistical Saints with thunder and lightning for making him a stale to their premeditated villanies.

Here Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, with a breath (and before any man that was not privy to the design could recover out of his amazement) was made *Generalissimo* of all the Forces and Forts of *England* and *Wales*; to dispose of them at his pleasure: *Constable* of the Tower of *London*. The common Souldiers Voted *one moneths gratuity*, besides their pay (the Commons being in good case to give gifts before they *pay debts*:) left to the discretion of the General to set what Guards he pleased upon the two Houses. Whereby you may perceive in what unequal condition those Members that did not run away with the Speaker, did now sit; after so many reiterated threats of the General against them in his printed Papers.

37. The Armies march in Triumph through the City: with other subsequent Acts.

After this, the General, Lieutenant General, Major General *Skippon* (heretofore Waggoner to Sir *Francis Pere*, and one that hath got well by serving the City) and the whole Army, with the Train of Artillery, marched through *London* in so great pomp and Triumph, as if they would have the People understand that the Authority of the Kingdom (in whose hands soever it remains in these doubtfull times) must submit to the *power of the Sword*, the hilt and handle whereof they hold. They *turn out the Lieutenant of the Tower without cause shewn*. The consequences of these two actions were, that immediately the City decayed in Trade above 200000 l. a week; and no more bullion came to the Mint.

They displace all our Governours, though placed by Ordinance of Parliament, and put in men of their own party; for this

enctoching faction will have all in their own hands: they alter and divide the Militia of *London*, setting up particular Militia's at *Westminster*, *Southwark*, and the *Hamblets of the Tower*, that being so divided they may be the weaker: Demolish the Lines of Communication, that the City and Parliament may lie open to Invasion when they please, and fright many more Members from the Houses with threats, and fear of false impeachments.

The 11. impeached Members, having leave by order of the House, and license of the Speaker, some to go beyond Sea, and *Anthony Nichols* to go into his own Country to settle his Affairs; Some of them (as Sir *William Waller*, and M. *Denn Hollis*) were attacht upon the Sea, *Nichols* arrested upon the way into *Cornwall* by the Army, and despightfully used. And when the General was inclined to free him, *Cromwel* (whose malice is known to be as unquenchable as his Nose) told him *he was a Traitor to the Army*. You see now upon whom they meant to fix the *peoples allegiance*, (for where no *allegiance* is due, there can be no *Treason*) and to what purpose they have since by their 4 Votes (first debated between the *Independent Grandees* of the Houses and Army) laid aside the King, and (as much as in them is) taken off our Allegiance from him.

Col. *Birch* formerly imployed for *Ireland* by the Parliament, was imprisoned, and his men mutinied against him by the Army, and Sir *Sam. Luke* resting quietly in his own house, was there seized upon, and carried Prisoner into the Army.

All these Acts of terror were but so many scarecrowes set up to fright more Presbyterians from the Houses, and make the Army masters of their Votes.

38. Proceedings of both Houses under the power of the Army.

I must in the next place fall upon the Proceeding in both Houses, acted under the power and influence of this all-inslaving, all-devouring Army, and their engaged party; to attain the knowledge whereof, I have used my utmost industry and interest with many my near friends, and kinsmen sitting within those Walls, heretofore (when *Kings*, not *Brewers* and *Draymen*, were in power) the walls of publick Liberty.

39. Ordinance to Jul and Void all Acts passed in absence of the 2 runagado Speakers.

The Lords that sate in absence of the two Speakers (all but the Earl of *Pembrook*, whose easie disposition made him fit for all companies) found it their safest course to forbear the House, leaving

leaving it to be possessed by those few Lords that went to, and engaged with the Army: which ingaged Lords sent to the Commons for their concurrence to an Ordinance, *To make all Acts, Orders, and Ordinances, passed from the* 26. July, (when the tumult was upon the Houses) *to the* 6 *of* August *following* (being the day of the fugitive Members return) *Void and Null* ab initio. This was five or six several days severally and fully debated, as often put to the question, and carried in the Negative every time; Yet the Lords still renewed the same message to them, beating back their Votes into their throats, and would not acquiesce, but upon every denial put them again to roll the same stone, contrary to the privileges of the Commons.

40. Menaces used by the engaged party in the House.

The chief Arguments used by the engaged party were all grounded upon the Common places of fear and necessity: Mr. Solicitor threatning if they did not concur, the Lords were resolved to vindicate the Honour of their House, and sit no more; they must have recourse to the power of the Sword; The longest Sword take all. *That they were all engaged to live and die with the Army. They should have a sad time of it. Hasterigge* used the like language, farther saying, *Some heads must flie off; and he feared, the Parliament of* England *would not save the Kingdom of* England, *they must look another way for safety. They could not satisfie the Army but by declaring all void* ab initio; *and the Lords were so far engaged, that no middle way would serve.* To this was answered, *That this was an appeal from the Parliament to the Army.* And when these and many more threats of as high nature were complained of, *as destructive to the liberty and beings of Parliaments,* the Speaker would take no notice of it. Sir *Henry Vane junior,* Sir *John Evelin junior, Prideaux, Gourdon, Muddiman, Thomas Scot, Cornelius Holland,* and many more, used the like threats.

41. A threatning Remonstrance from the Army to the House.

Upon the last Negative (being the fifth or sixth) the Speaker perceiving greater enforcements must be used) pulled a Letter out of his pocket, *From the General and General Council of the Army* (for that was now their stile) pretending he then received it; But it was conceived he rectived it over night, with directions to conceal it, if the question had passed the affirmative. It was accompanied with a *Remonstrance* full of villanous language and

threats

threats against *those Members* that sate while the two Speakers were with the Army, calling them *pretended Members*, charging them (in general) with *Treason, Treachery, and breach of Trust*; and protested, if they shall presume to sit before they have cleared themselves, that they did not give their assents to such and such Votes, they should sit at their peril, and he would take them as prisoners of War, and try them at a Council of War.

What King of *England* ever offered so great a violence to the fundamental Privileges of Parliament, as to deny them the Liberty of Voting *I* and *No* freely? Certainly the *little finger* of a *Jack Cade*, or a *Wat Tyler*, is far heavier than the *loynes* of any King.

Many Members were amazed at this Letter, and it was moved, *That the Speaker should command all the Members to meet at the House the next day; and should declare, That they should be secured from danger: And that it might be ordered, That no more but the ordinary Guards should attend the house.* But these two motions were violently opposed with vollies of threats, by the aforesaid Parties and others. And after more than two hours debate, the Speaker refused to put any question upon them, or any of them; and so adjourned to the next morning, leaving the *Presbyterian Members* to meet at their Peril.

The next day being Friday, the 10. *August*, there was a very thin Assembly in the House of Commons; the House having with so much violence denyed protection to their Members the day before, made most of the *Presbyterian* party absent. Some went over to the *Independent* party: others sate mute. At last a Committee was appointed presently to bring in an *Ordinance of Accommodation*; which was suddenly done and passed, and is now printed at the latter end of the said menacing *Remonstrance* of the Army: a Child fit to wait upon such a Mother.

42. Debate in passing the Ordinance of null and void.

Thus was this *Ordinance of null and void* gotten (which hath been the cause of so much danger and trouble to multitudes of people) by the Lords reiterated breaches upon the Privileges of the House of Commons; The engaged parties threats within doores: The Armies thundring Letters and Remonstrance, Their Guards

Guards upon their doors, and a Regiment or two of Horse in *Hide Park*, ready to make impressions upon the House, in case things had not gone to their minds: diverse of whose Commanders walking in the Hall, enquired often how things went: protesting, *they would pull them forth by the Ears if they did not give speedy satisfaction.*

Thus for the *manner* of passing that Ordinance.

The *matter* of Argument used against it was (as far as I can hear) to the purpose following: It was alleged that the Force upon Monday, 26. *July*, ended that day, that the next day being Tuesday, the House met quietly, and adjourned: that upon Friday following, the Houses sate quietly all day, and gave their Votes freely, and so forward; the City having sufficiently provided for their security, that the transient force upon Monday, could have no influence on the Houses for time to come.

That the Supreme power of no Nation can avoid their own Acts by pretended force: this would make the Common people, the Jurors, and Judges, to question all Acts done in Parliament, since one man can, and may judge of force as well as another: this were to bring the Records of the House into dispute: *Magna Charta* was never gotten nor confirmed but by Force: Force was three-fold, *upon one, or both Houses; or upon the King, in giving his Royal assent*; neither could plead it: the Parliament is presumed to consist of such men as dare lay down their lives for their Country.

When the King came with force to demand the 5. Members: When the City came down crying for justice against the Earl of *Stafford*: When the Women came down crying for Peace: When the Reformadoes came down in a much more dangerous Tumult than this of the unarmed Apprentices; yet the Houses continued sitting and acting, and none of their Acts were nullified.

That to make their Acts, Orders, and Ordinances void *ab initio*, would draw many thousand men, who had acted under them, into danger of their lives and fortunes, who had no Authority to dispute the validity of our Votes: we must therefore give them power to dispute our Acts hereafter upon matter of fact; for to tie men to unlimited and undisputable obedience to

our

our Votes, and yet to punish them for obeying whensoever we shall please to declare our acts void, *ab initio*, is contrary to all reason. If to act upon such Ordinances were criminal, it was more criminal in those that made them. And who shall be Judges of those that made them? not the Members that went to the Army; They are parties pre-ingaged to live and die with the Army; and have approved the *Armies Declaration*, calling those that sate, *a few Lords and Gentlemen, and no Parliament*: They have joyned with a power out of the Houses to give a Law to, and put an engagement upon both Houses, a president never heard of before, of most dangerous consequence, it takes away the liberty of giving *I* and *No* freely, being the very life of Parliaments: If all done under an actual force be void, it is questionable whether all hath been done this four or five years be not void; and whether his Majesties Royal assent to some good Bils passed this Parliament, may not be said to have been extorted by force. If the Kings partie prevail, they will declare this Parliament void, upon the ground your selves have laid. 1. *Hen.* 7. that King urged the Parliament to make void *ab initio*, all Acts passed *Rich.* 3. which they refused upon this ground, that then they should make all that had acted in obedience to them liable to punishment, only they repealed those Acts.

Fabian's History.

The debate upon this Ordinance *of Null and Void*, held from Monday, 9. of *Aug.* to the 20. *Aug.* (when it was passed) but not without some interloaping debates of something a different nature, yet all looking the same way; occasioned by *Messages* from the Lords: Namely, once upon a Message from them,

43. The Lords Message to the Commons to approve the Declaration of the Army:

The said *Declaration* from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and his Army, concerning their *advance to London* was read and debated in grosse, whether the Commons should concur with the Lords in approving it? But almost all but the ingaged party and their pensioners disliked it, it was laid by without any question put, lest it should prove dangerous to put a Negative upon their Masters of the Army. Yet many menaces (according to custome) were used by the engaged party to get it passed: *Hasterigge* affirming that those Gentlemen that sate and voted for a *Committee of safety*, and the Kings comming to *London*, did drive on the design of the *City Protestation* and *Engagement*. To which was answered, *That the*

44. The Committee of safety.

Committee

Committee of safety was not then newly erected by those which sate, but of the old Committee, revived by that Vote, which had been long since erected in a full and free Parliament, when the Army first mustered, and the caused to march to London, *and for the same ends, defence of Parliament and City; and for the King's coming to* London, *it was Voted onely to get him out of the power of the Army; as formerly in a full and free Parliament he had been Voted to* Richmond *for the same reason.*

45. A Committee to Examine the Tumult.

Upon another Message from the Lords, the Commons concurred in an Ordinance to erect a Committee of Examination, to inquire into, and examine the *City Petition*, *Engagement*, *and the force upon the Houses* 26. *July*, & all endeavours to raise any forces, &c. This Committee consisted of 22. Commons besides Lords, almost all of them Members engaged with the Army: but because there were some three or four Presbyterians gotten in amongst them, to shut these *Canaanites* forth, that the Godly, the true seed of *Israel* might shuffle the cards according to their own mind, the 13. *August* after (upon another Message from the Lords) there was a Sub-Committee of Secrecy, named out of this Grand Committee of Examinations, to examine upon Oath; the persons were, the Earl of *Denbigh*, and *Mulgrave*, Lord *Gray* of *Wark*, Lord *Howard* of *Escrig*, Sir *Arthur Haslerigge*, Mr. Solicitor, *Gourdan*, *Miles Corbet*, Alderman *Pennington*, *Allen*, *Edwards*, Col. *Ven*, or any three of them; all persons engaged to live and die with the Army, and now appointed to make a clandestine scrutiny, and search into the lives and actions of the Presbyterian Party that sate in Parliament doing their duty, when the engaged Party fled to the Army, and brought them up in hostile manner against them.

46. A Sub-committee of secrecy selected to examine the Tumult.

47. Debate upon passing the Committee of Secret examinations

The unreasonableness of this way of proceeding was much urged, and further alleged, that *it was neither consonant to the customes of the House, nor unto common reason*, that *a Sub-committee should be chosen out of the Grand Committee of Examinations, with more power then the Grand Committee it self had, and excluding the rest of the Committee, under the pretence of Secrecie*; Besides, *it was against the privilege of the House of Commons, that the Lords should nominate the Commons in that Sub-committee to sit as their own Members*. But the Independent Gran-

dees would have it pass. Breach of Privilege and all other considerations are easily swallowed when they are subservient to their present designs.

48. The manner of prosecution & proceeding upon the Tumult.

The party engaged were resolved to be *Examiners*, *Informers*, and *Witnesses*, as well as *Parties*; (so active was their malice) and had so well packed their Cards, that eight or nine Schismatical Lords engaged likewise with them, and the Army should be Judges of the Presbyterian Party that sate in absence of the two Speakers, the better to give the two Houses a through Purge, and make them of the same complexion with the Army: without which they had no hopes to divide the power and profit of the Land between themselves by 100000l. 20000l. in a morning shared amongst the Godly; and to make the whole Kingdom to be *Gibeonites*, hewers of wood, and drawers of water to the faithfull.

49. *Miles Corbet* makes report of Examinations taken at the Close Committee. First, against the Committee of Safety.

In order to the playing of this game, *Miles Corbet* (Interpreter to the *State-puppet play* behind the curtain, commonly called *The Close Committee of Examinations*) upon the 3. *September*, stood up and began his Report from that Inquisition, saying, *He would begin with the Committee of Safety, wherein many Members were concerned, and it was necessary to purge the Houses first.* But further said, *he would suppress the names of many of his Witnesses, because the Depositions he should report were but preparatory Examinations, and it would be for service of the State to conceal their names.*

He first produced many Warrants signed at the *Committee of Safety* by the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Suffolk*, *Middlesex*, *Lincoln*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Maynard*, Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Phi. Stapleton*, Sir *Will. Waller*, Mr. *Long*, Mr. *Nichols*, Sir *William Lewis*, Mr. *Boynton*.

Against Master *Boynton*.

Next, *Corbet* reported, *he had a Witness who deposed that a Gentleman with a Red beard had signed many Warrants, supposed to be* Master *Edward Boynton*, at length after much wyer-drawing of the business, one Warrant was shewn to Master *Boynton*, which he confessed to be his hand. And presently *Hasterig* moved that Master *Boynton* might forthwith Answer; against which was objected, *That since those were but preparatory Examinations, not legal proofs, no man was bound to Answer them; otherwise a man*

shall

shall be but to as many several answers as several new matters of Charge come in against him, and shall day by day be liable to new vexations, and never know when he hath cleared himself. But *Corbet* (who of an examiner was now become the Kings Solicitor, or Advocate Criminal) moved to proceed to Judgement against him: but first to aske him some preparatory questions. But it was answered, that it was illegal to squeese examinations out of a mans own mouth; neither was a man bound to answer, where his words may condemn, but not absolve him: for so much as depends upon the testimony of Witnesses against this Gentleman, you cannot proceed unless he be by, and have liberty to put cross questions to the Witnesses. It is alleged, Warrants were signed, and all done in relation to a new War. It is answered, it was done in order to Self-defence (allowed by the Laws.) Long before this occasion, when the Army first mutinied and threatned to march up to *London*, and use such extraordinary means against the *Parliament and City* as God had put into their hands, you then in a full and free Parliament appointed a Committee of Safety for your defence, who sate and acted. This Committee was but the same revived, and upon the like or worse threats and menaces, as by the many printed papers from the Army will appear; you have no Testimony against this Gentleman by name, but only a character of his Hair: and for signing the Warrant confessed by himself he is acquitted by the *Proviso* of the Ordinance 20 *August* last, which excepted only such as acted upon the force; but when the Committee of Safety was revived, the Parliament was freer from force than it is now. Mr. *Baynton* notwithstanding, was adjudged to be suspended the House during pleasure of the House, which is as much as to say, *So long as the Tyranny of this Domineering Faction lasteth.*

The 4 of *Sept. Corbet* reported he had a Witness (but named him not, because they were but preparatory examinations) who deposed, that an elderly Gentleman, of low stature, in a Gray suit, with a little stick in his hand, came forth of the House into the Lobby when the tumult was at the Parliament door, and whispered some of the Apprentices in the ear, and encouraged them, (supposed to be Mr. *Walker*.) Mr. *Walker* denyed he spake then with any man in the *Lobby*, or saw any face that he knew there; Against Mr. *Walker*.

there; and so neglected the business as a thing not considerable. But the next day *Corbet* moved that Mr. *Walker* might be ordered to put on his Gray suit again, and appear before the Close Committee, and the Witness, who saith, *he knoweth him again if he see him.* I hear Mr. *Walker* desired to know (seeing the Witness had not named him) by what Authority the examiners should take such a Deposition, and make application thereof to him; And seeing there were many Gentlemen in the House that day with whom that Character agreed as well as with himself, why the Reporter did not move that all to whom that Character was appliable might be put to that test as well as himself, but single him out for a mark to shoot at; complaining, that he was not ignorant out of what quiver this Arrow came: he had been threatned with a revenge by some of that Close Committee, and had other Enemies amongst them, that could bite without barking. He told them that yesterday Mr. *Corbet* reported that the supposed old man whispered, &c. but desired those that were then in the House to call to mind that the noise was then so great in the *Lobby*, that no whisper, nay the loudest words he was able to speak could not be heard. Then *Corbet* changed his Tale, saying, the words were, *What you do, do quickly*; and were spoken aloud; and said the Character agreed best with Mr. *Walker*, for that the Deponent said, the Gentleman was a Lean meager man.

Here Mr. *Walker* desired the House to take notice, that the Reporter had twice varied his Report. 1 In the words spoken, from a *whisper* to *loud speaking*. 2 In the Character inlarged with the words *lean and meager*. Here is haile-shot provided, if one miss the other must hit; Yet with this addition, there were divers in the House with whom the Character agreed as well as with himself. And by the incivility of his words, it should seem the Witness is a man of no breeding; wherefore he desired to hear his *name*, that he might inquire of his credit and repute. If the Reporter thinks he may be practised, he doth not think him a man of honesty, and then he had more cause to suspect him. He farther complained, that to make Hue and Cry after him (as it were upon fresh suit) upon a Character of his person and cloaths five or six weeks after the supposed fact (he never having absented

ted himself one day from the House) favoured too much of a party oversway'd with malice and revenge.

Your Close Committee of Examination carry on businesses so in the dark (being parties engaged with the Army, and not sworn to be true in their office) that no man can see how to defend himself, or how he is dealt with, or when he is free from trouble and danger. It seems we are here called *ex tempore* to answer for our lives, *ore tenus*; and our Accusation beginneth with the Examination of our persons, to make us state a Charge against our selves, to betray our selves, and cut our own throats with our tongues, contrary to *Magna Charta*, *the Petition of Right*, and all those Laws of God and Man, which in the Kings time were in use; and no Witnesses are produced, nor so much as named: methinks therefore we are compelled to play at *blind-man bough* for our lives, not seeing who strikes us. You have the most summary way of hanging one another that ever I saw; it is a kind of *Star-chamber* proceeding in matter of life and death; your secret Examinations savours so much of the *Spanish inquisition*, and of the *Council of troubles* erected by the Duke *d' Alva* in the *Low-countries* (called *Consilium Sanguinis*) that they can never agree with the *Laws and Nature of our Nation*: if our Kings shall imitate you hereafter, they will be the greatest Tyrants in the World. Formalities and Privileges of Court, derogating from the common Rules of Law, and practice of the Land, are but curtains drawn before oppression and tyranny to dazle mens eyes. Give me leave to tell you, that I have served you faithfully from the beginning, and have taken as much pains, and run as many hazards, as most men in your service, wherein I have lost my health, and above 7000 l. of my Estate, without one penny compensation, as other men have had; nor have I laid my hand upon any mans money or goods, or had any gainfull imployment from you; I contented my self to serve my Country *gratis*, and with some little honour I had gotten thereby, whereof you have now robbed me, by a roaving Accusation shot at random at me. Had I cheated the State of 40000 l. or 50000 l. peradventure I might have been thought a Godly, confiding man, of right principles, and have had 10000 l. given me for my pains. *Sir*, You have heard the voice of a Free-man (not of a slave) that dares keep his first Principles,

Religi-

Religion, Laws, and just liberties, whosoever lays them aside; and protest against Tyranny and oppression, wheresoever he finds it, whether in the Government of *one* or *many*. You may murder me by the Sword of Justice, but you cannot hurt me: but deliver me from the evils to come. Nor shall I be unwilling to suffer a Gaol-delivery of my Soul from the prison of my body when I am called to it.

When Mr. *Walker* had done his defence, the debate followed much to this purpose, *That to order him to appear in his Gray suit before the Close Committee and Witness was illegal, and against the Laws and Liberties of the Subject.*

1. *It is to help another to accuse himself; which is all one as if he did accuse himself.*

2. *To bid a Witness look upon a man* (after he is engaged to name some body) *is to prompt him to go no further than the party shewed.*

3. *A Witness ought not to be twice examined against a man*, that is, *to draw him on by degrees to swear home, and to mend in his second Deposition what fell short in his first.*

4. *If the Witness first depose to the matter, not naming the party, and five or six weeks after declare the Person without Oath, this is no Deposition, and if the Oath be renewed, the Witness is twice examined:* So the business was laid by, and *Corbet* allowed to shew Mr. *Walker* casually as he could meet with him to his Witness, which was (in a manner) to draw dry-foot after him with his blood-hound.

I was the more curious in gathering the circumstances of this business out of the reports of many several men, in regard of the rareness of the case, and the exquisiteness of the malice with which it was prosecuted. And it seemed to me the more admirable, because I hear generally that Mr. *Walker* hath always been opposite to all parties and factions, both *Presbyterian* and *Independent*, upon whom he looks as the common disturbers both of Church and Commonwealth, and enemies of peace. Nor could he ever be perswaded to be at any of their *Junto's* or secret meetings; and therefore it is not probable he should suddenly and in the open view of the House go forth and engage with a company of silly unarmed Apprentice Boys. But I hear they cannot endure his severity, nor he their knavery. What will not the malice

of

of a desperate Anabatistical faction attempt? they have long sported in the blood and treasure of the Land, as the *Leviathan* doth in the Waters; and do now keep up a numerous Army to carry on those designs by force, which they can no longer make good by fraud. All *England* is become as *Munster* was, and our *Grandees* suitable to *John of Leyden* and *Knipperdoling*.

Against Mr. Recorder *Glyn*.

The next report *Corbet* made concerning Mr. Recorder *Glyn*. The chief things objected were, *That he had frequented the Common Council, the Committees of the Militia, and Safety, more than he was wont to do: That he was silent and made no opposition; and that he gave thanks to the Apprentices when they delivered their Petition to the City, offering their help for defence thereof against whomsoever.*

The Recorder answered, *The Charge was long, and his Memory short: He desired time to examine his memory, concerning the circumstances of time, place, persons and other matters; and that he might examine Witnesses for clearing his innocency.* But his prosecutors (hoping to do more good upon him by way of Surprize, than in a deliberate and legal way of proceeding) put him upon it to answer *extempore*. He confessed and avoided some things, but denied the most material. He denied he was more frequent at their meetings than ordinary. For his silence, he alleged, he was but the Cities servant, and had no voice amongst them, but when his opinion was demanded: That he gave thanks to the Apprentices as a servant by command, yet had mixed some admonitions and reprehensions in his Speech to them.

So the Recorder withdrew. And presently *Haslerig* (according to his custom) moved judgment might be given against him. To which was answered, that the Recorder denied the principal parts of his Charge; and offered proofs by Witnesses: you must give him that leave, or take all parts of his speech for granted; as well that makes for him, as against him. Two or three days more will make this business ripe for judgment: let him have one judgment for all. If you judge him now to be expelled the House, he is already forejudged, and that will be a leading case to a farther judgment: for who dares acquit where you have condemned? A man ought to be but once judged upon one accusation. The dishonour of expulsion is a punishment exceeding death.

death. If you judge now upon one part of the Accusation, and hereafter upon another part of the Accusation, he will be twice condemned upon one Accusation, and shall never know when he hath satisfied the Law, an endless vexation.

Yet *Hasterig* moved he might receive judgment now, for what was already proved or confessed, to be expelled the House, (saying, *The Lords went on without obstruction in their businesses, because they had purged their House*) and that he might be farther impeached hereafter upon farther hearing. So he was adjudged to be discharged the House, committed to the Tower, and farther impeached hereafter.

Against Sir *John Maynard.*

Sir *John Maynard* the same day was called to Answer. He desired a copy of his Charge, with leave to Answer in writing by advice of Counsel, as the 11. Members formerly did; to examine Witnesses on his part, and cross examine their Witnesses. But these requests were denied, and he commanded to Answer *extempore*. He gave no particular Answer, but denied all in general: as Col. *Pride* (whom he cited for his president) had formerly done at their Bar. He was adjudged to be discharged the House, committed to the Tower, and farther impeached.

The like for Commissary General *Copley*, whose case differed little.

Against the 7. Lords.

The 8. of *Sept.* the Earls of *Suffolk*, *Lincoln*, *Middlesex*, the Lords *Berkley*, *Willoughby*, *Hunsdon*, *and Maynard*, were impeached of High Treason in the name of the Commons of *England*, *for leavying War against the King*, *Parliament*, *and Kingdom*. The Earl of *Pembroke* (then sent to *Hampton Court* with the Propositions on purpose to avoid the storm) was omitted untill Wednesday following, and so had the favour to be thought not worth remembring.

Sir *John Evelin* the younger sent up to the Lords with the *Impeachment*, and a desire they might be committed. They were committed to the *Black Rod*; and so the engaged Lords had their House to themselves according to their desires.

50. Schismatical Petitions.

The 14. *Sept.* A Petition from divers Schismaticks in *Essex* came to the Houses, bearing this Title, *To the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, distinct from the Lords and Commons that sate in absence of the two Speakers.*

16. *Sept.*

16. *Sept.* a Petition from divers Sectaries of *Oxfordsh. Bucks. Berksh.* was delivered to the House against divers Members sitting in the House, *Enemies to God and Godliness, Enemies to the Kingdom, &c. Usurpers of Parliamentary authority, who endeavoured to bring in the King upon his own Termes.* They desired *a free Parliament, and that* (according to the desires of the Army) *those that sate when the Parliament was suspended in absence of Tythes, &c.* in it. Such another Petition came but the day before from *Southwark.*

The aym of these Petitions.

These Petitions were all penned by the engaged party of the Houses and Army, and sent abroad by Agitators to get subscriptions. The design was to put the two parties in the House into heights one against another, to make the lesser party in the House (*viz.* the ingaged party, but 59.) to expel the greater party, being about 140. whereby the House might be low and base in the opinion of the people, and no Parliament, and so leave all to the power of the Sword. The Army dayly recruiting, and thereby giving hopes to all loose people, that the Army should be their common Receptacle, as the sea is the common Receptacle of all waters, because those who had no hopes to be Members of Parliament, might become Members of this Army. Besides their plausible way of prompting the people to Petition against Tythes, Enclosures, and Copy-hold fines uncertain, was to encourage them to side with the Army against all the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy of the Land, (from whom the Army did most fear an opposition) and to destroy Monarchy it self; since it is impossible for any Prince, to be a King only of Beggers, Tinkers, and Coblers.

Against the Lord Major Aldermen and Citizens.

But these interlopping discourses omitted, let us again return to these prodigious Impeachments. The next in order comes in the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens, with whom short work was made. Impeachments were sent to the Lords against them, and they sent to the Tower upon a bare report of the Inquisitor-genetal *Corbet*, and the reading of some depositions, the Witnesses names for the most part concealed, and none of them so much as called to the Commons Bar, to see what they could say for themselves; contrary to *Magna Charta*, 29. *ch.* and contrary to 28. *Edw.* 3. enacting, *That no man shall be put out of his Land, &c. nor taken, nor Imprisoned, &c. or put to death, &c. without being*

brought to answer by due process of Law. That is, according to the *Stat.* 42. *Ed.* 3. *c.* 3. *That no man be brought to answer without presentment before Justices, or matter of Record, or by due process, or writ original according to the old Law of the Land:* not according to new invented Articles of Impeachment, but according to those Laws that were well known, and old in *Edw.* 3. time: See *Stat.* 37. *Ed.* 3. 1. *Ed.* 6. *ch.* 12. 6. *Ed.* 6. *c.* 11. and the *Stat.* 25. *E.* 3. saith, *No man shall be taken by Petition or Suggestion made to the King or his Counsel, &c.* and the House of Peers is no more but the Kings Counsel, as anon I shall make evident.

51. Arguments against impeachments before the Lords.

It was moved by divers, that these Gent. might be tryed according to Law at the Kings Bench, by a Jury of twelve men *de vicineto*, their Peers and Equals to judg of matter of fact: alleging that the Common Law was the Birthright of all the free People of *England:* which was one of the 3. Principles for which the Parliament so often declared in print that they fought, and for defence whereof they had entered into a covenant, *with their hands lifted up to God:* the other two principles were *Religion* and *Liberties.*

1. *The Lords were not Peers to the Commoners: At the common Law they shall have sworn Judges for matter of Law, of whom they may ask questions in doubtfull points, nor can they be Judges in their own cases.*

2. *They have sworn Jurors of the Neighbourhood for matter of fact, whom they may challenge.*

3. *The known Laws and Statutes for Rules to judg by, which in case of Treason in the* Stat. 25. Ed. 3. *you cannot Vote nor declare a new Treason:* And if you could, *to do it* Ex post facto, *is contrary to all rules of justice:* The Apostle saith, *sin is a breach of a Commandment* (or Law) *I had not known sin but by the Law:* the Law therefore must go before the Sin.

4. At the Common Law, *They have Witnesses openly and newly examined upon Oath before the accused's face, who may except against them and cross examine them.*

5. *Even in Star-chamber and Chancery* (where only hearings are upon Testimonies) *the Examiners are sworn Officers.*

6. *A man hath but one Tryal and Judgment upon one accusation:* so that he knows when he hath satisfied the Law.

In this way of proceeding, all these necessary legalities are laid by,

by; and these Gentlemen have not so much fair play for their Lives and Estates, as *Naboth* had for his Vineyard: he had all the formalities of the Law; yea, he had Law it self; yet he had not justice, because they were the sons of *Belial* that were set before him: what shall we conceive these Witnesses are that do not appear? nay, whose very names are concealed? yet *Naboth* was murdered by the sword of Justice: for the honour of Parliaments give not the people cause to suspect these Gentlemen shall be so too: *non recurrendum ad extraordinaria, quando fieri potest per ordinaria.*

52. Arguments proving the Lords to have no power of Judicature over the Commons.

But all this was but to charm a deaf Adder: the nine or ten engaged Lords that then possessed the House, were thought to be fitter than a Jury of *Middlesex* to make work for the hang-man, and yet they have *no Judicature over the Commons*, as appears by the President of Sir *Simon de Berisford*, *William Talboys*, and the City of *Cambridge*. Note that one president against the Jurisdiction of a Court is more valued than a hundred for it: because the Court cannot be supposed ignorant of the Law, and its own rights; but a particular man or Client may: see Sir *John Maynard's Royal quarrel, and his Laws subversion*, Lieutenant Col. *Lilburn's Whip for the present House of Lords*, and Judge *Jenkins Remonstrance to the Lords and Commons of the two Houses of Parliament*, dated 21 *Feb.* 1647. As for the cases of *Weston*, *Gontews*, and *Hall*, (cited by Mr. *Pryn*) they were for facts done beyond Sea, and before the *Stat.* 1. *Hen.* 4. *ch.* 14. whereof the Common Law could then have no connusance, and therefore an extraordinary way of proceeding before the Lords was requisit, and by the Kings special authority it was done, without which (I dare boldly affirm) the Lords have no Judicature at all; which thus I make appear.

53. The House of Peers no Court of Judicature at all properly and *per se*.

1. The King by delivering the Great Seal to the Lord Keeper, makes him *Keeper of his conscience* for matter of equity; By His *Brevia patentia* to the *Judges of the two Benches and the Exchequer*, the King makes them *administrators and interpreters of his Laws*: But he never trusts any but himself with the power of pardoning and dispensing with the rigor of the Law in Criminal cases. And though the Lord Keeper is Speaker of the Lords House of course, yet he is no Member of the Lords House *virtute Officii*: the Judges

ges are not Members, but assistants only: so that no man in the House of Peers, as he is simply a Peer, is trusted by the King either with dispensation of Law, or Equity.

2. When a Peer of Parliament, or any man else is tried before the Lords in Parliament criminally, he cannot be tryed by his Peers only, because in acts of judicature there must be a Judge Superior, who must have his inferiors ministerial to him: therefore in the trial of the Earl of *Strafford* (as in all other trials upon life and death, in the Lords House) the King grants his Commission to a *Lord high Steward* to sit as Judge, and the rest of the Lords are but in the nature of Jurors. So that it is the Kings Commission that Authoriseth and Distinguisheth them.

3. When a Writ of Error issueth out of the Chancery to the House of Peers, they derive their Authority meerly from that Writ.

For the three Reasons aforesaid, the House of Peers is no Court of Judicature, without the Kings special Authority granted to them, either by his Writ, or his Commission; and the Lords by their four Votes having denied all further address or application to the King, have cut off from themselves that fountain from which they derived all their power; and all trials by Commission must be upon Bills or Acts of Attainder, not by *Articles of Impeachment*, a way never heard of before this Parliament, and invented to carry on the designs of a restless impetuous faction: Had the Faction had but so much wit as to try the Gentlemen by Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, before Sergeant *Wild*, he would have borrowed a point of Law to hang a hundred of them for his own preferment.

Observe, that almost all the cases cited by Mr. *Pryn* concerning the Peers trials of Commissioners were Authorised by the King upon the special instance of the House of Commons; as for the House of Commons, they never pretended to any power of Judicature, and have not so much Authority as to Administer an Oath, which every Court of Pye-Poulders hath.

54. Blank Impeachments dormant.

But this way of tryal before the pre-ingaged Lords, and upon *Articles of Impeachment*, (which they keep by them of all sorts and sizes fit for every man, as in *Birchin-lane* they have suits ready made to fit every body) was the apter means to bring men

men to death, whom they feared living, had not a doubt of the Scots comming in taught them more moderation than their nature is uſually acquainted with; and to fright away, (at leaſt) put to ſilence the reſt of the Members with fear of having their names put in blank Impeachments; and that it might be ſo apprehended, *Miles Corbet* moved openly in the Houſe of Commons that they ſhould proceed with the Impeachments which were ready, nothing wanted but to fill up the Blanks, they might put in what names they pleaſed. This Inquiſitor General, this Prologue to the Hang-man, that looks more like a Hang-man than the Hang-man himſelf, hath ſince gotten a rich office of *Regiſter of the Chancery*, as a reward for his double diligence: Oh Sergeant *Wild* and Mr. *Steel* deſpair not of a reward.

55. Eſtabliſhment for the Army.

Friday 27 *Sep.* the advice of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and his Counſel of War was read in the Houſe of Commons, What ſtanding forces they ought to keep up in *England* and *Wales*, and what Garriſons; alſo what forces to ſend for *Ireland*; namely, for *Ireland*, 6000 foot, and 2400 horſe, out of the ſupernumerary looſe forces, being no part of the Army; and for *England*, upon eſtabliſhed pay 18000 foot at 8d. *per diem*. 7200 horſe at 2s. *per diem* each Trooper, 1000 Dragoons, and 200 Fire locks, Train of Artillery, Arms and Ammunition, to be ſupplied. The foot to be kept in Garriſons, yet ſo that 6000 may be readily drawn into the Field.

The Independent party argued, that the Army were unwilling to go for *Ireland*, pretending their engagement to the contrary; If you divide or disband any part of your Army, they will ſuſpect you have taken up your old reſolution againſt them, to disband the whole Army: it is now no time to diſcontent them, when the Kings Anſwers to your Propoſitions tend to divide you and your Army, and the people are generally diſaffected to you.

The Preſbyterian Party argued, that the engagement of the Army ought to be no rule to the Counſels of the Parliament; otherwiſe new engagements every day may preſcribe the Parliament new Rules; we muſt look two wayes. 1 Upon the people unable to bear the burthen. 2. Upon the Army. Let us keep ſome power in our own hands, and not deſcend ſo far below

the

the dignity of a Parliament, as to put all into the hands of the General and his Council of War. You have almost given away all already. The Army adviseth you to keep up your Garrisons, then upon mature deliberation this House formerly Voted: you have already made Garrisons manned with gallant and faithfull men, to whom you owe Arrears; to remove them, and place new Souldiers in their rooms, will neither please them, nor the places where they are quartered, who being acquainted with their old guests, will not willingly receive new in their rooms. These men have done you as good and faithfull service as any in the Army; and were ready to obey you and go for *Ireland*, had they not been hindered by those, who under pretence of an engagement to the contrary (which they mutinously entred into) will neither obey you, nor go for *Ireland*, nor suffer others to go. Though you discharge these men without paying their Arrears, (which others of other principles will not endure) yet give them good words. If you will be served by none, but such as are of your new principles; yet consider your Army are not all alike principled. and peradventure the old principles may be as good as the new for publick, though not so fit for private designs and purposes. You have passed an Ordinance, *That none that have born Arms against the Parliament shall be imployed:* if you disband all such, your Army will be very thin; many have entred into pay there in order to do the King service, and bring the Parliament low. There is no reason you should keep up 1400 horse more than you last voted to keep up, being but 5800 at which time 60000l. a Month was thought an establishment sufficient both for *England* and *Ireland*. But now the whole charge of *England* and *Ireland* will amount to 114000l. a month, which must be raised upon the people, either directly and openly by way of assessement, or indirectly and closely, partly by assessments, & partly by free-quarter & other devices: nor will the pay of 2s. *per diem* to each Trooper, and 8d. to each foot Souldier enable them to pay their quarters. If you mean to govern by the Sword, your Army is too little: if by the Laws and justice of the Land, and love of the people, your Army is too great: you can never pay them, which will occasion mutinies in the Army and ruine to the Country. Thus disputed the Presbyterians, but to no purpose, it was carried against them.

Ob-

Obſerve that when the War was at the higheſt, the monthly tax came but to 54000l. yet had we then the Earl of *Eſſex's* Army, Sir *William Waller's*, My Lord of *Denbigh's*, M. Gen. *Poyntz's*, M. Gen. *Maſſey's*, Maj. Gen. *Laughorn's*, Sir *William Brereton's*, Sir *Th. Middleton's* Brigades, and other forces in the field, beſides Garriſons.

56. Monthly taxes.

But now this Army hath 60000l. a month, and 20000l. a month more pretended for *Ireland*; which running all through the fingers of the Committee of the Army,

57. Ireland why kept in a ſtarving condition.

That Kingdom (which is purpoſely kept in a *ſtarving condition* to break the Lo. *Inchequins* Army, that *Ireland* may be a *receptacle for the Saints*, againſt *England* ſpews them forth) hath nothing but the envy of it, the ſole benefit going to this Army. This 20000l. a month being a ſecret unknown to the common Souldiers, the *Grandees of the Army* put it in their own purſes.

Moreover, this Army hath ſtill a kind of free quarter, (under colour of lodging, fire and candle,) for who ſees not that theſe maſterleſs gueſts upon that intereſt continued in our houſes, do and will become Maſters of all the reſt? and who dares ask money for quarter of them, or accept it when it is colourably offered, without fear of farther harm? beſides, the Army, (whoſe requeſts are now become Commands) demanded that they might have the leavying of this Tax, and that their accounts might be audited at the Head-quarters; and though the Officers of this Army (to catch the peoples affections) encouraged them often to Petion the Houſes againſt Free-quarter, pretending they would forbear it, after an eſtabliſhment ſetled upon them; the uſe their party in the Houſe made of theſe Petitions, was to move for an Addition of 20000l. or 30000l. a month, and then they ſhould pay their quarters, lodging, fire and candle, nay ſtable-room too excepted.

58. Free-quarter.

Here it is not amiſs to inſert a word or two of this villanous oppreſſion, Free-quarter; whereby we are reduced to the condition of conquered Slaves, no man being Maſter of his own Family, but living like Bond-ſlaves in their own Houſes, under theſe *Ægyptian Task-maſters*, who are ſpies and intelligencers upon our words and deeds, ſo that every mans table is become a ſnare to him. In the third year of King CHARLS, the Lords and

and Commons in their Petition of Right (when not above 2000. or 3000. Souldiers were thinly quartered upon the people but for a month or two) complained thereof to his Majesty as a great grievance, contrary to the Laws and Customes of the Realm, and humbly prayed as their right and Liberty, according to the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom, that he would remove them, and that his people might not be so burthened in time to come, which his Majesty graciously granted. Yet now we are ten thousand times more oppressed with them, and if these quarterers offer violence or villanous usage to any man in his house or family, or commit murder or felony, they are protected against the Laws and Justice of the Land, and *Triable only by a Council of War* at the Head-quarters, where a man can neither obtain justice, nor seek it with safety. So that we live under the burthen of a perpetual Army of 30000. or 40000. men, exempt from all but Martial Law, which frequently oppresseth, seldom righteth any man: witness *Oliver Cromwel's* taking of *Tompson* (being no Souldier) from the House of Commons door with Souldiers, imprisoning and condemning him at a Council of War, where he sate Judge in his own cause, there being a quarrel between them; yet it was held Treason in the Earl of *Strafford*, to condemn the Lord of *Valentia* so, being a Member of his Army, because it was in time of Peace, as this was. Many other examples we have of the like nature, and of this Army, enough to perswade us, that these *vindicative Saints* will not govern by the known Laws of the Land, (for which they have made us spend our money and blood) but by Martial Law, and Committee Law, grounded upon Arbitrary Ordinances of Parliament, which themselves in the first part of *exact Collections*, p. 727. confess, are not laws without the Royal assent.

59. Martial Law.

This Army hath been dayly recruited without any Authority, far beyond the said number or pay established; the supernumeraries living upon free-quarter; and when complaints have been made thereof in the House, the Army being quartered in several Brigades, supernumeraries have been disbanded in one brigade, & their Arms taken by their Officers, and shortly after they have been listed again in another Brigade, and their Arms sold again to the State, after a while to new Arm them. And of this sort were

60. Cheats put upon the State.

were those Arms which being found in a Magazin in Town by some Zealots, and rumoured to belong to the City for the arming of Reformado's, were upon examination found to belong to *Oliver Cromwel*: so the business was buried in silence; for though the Kings oversights must be tragically published to the world, yet the haynous crimes of the godly must lye hid under the mask of Religion.

And though they have usually taken free-quarter in one place, and taken Composition money for free-quarter in another place, some of them in two or three places at once 3*s*. a day, some of them 5*s*. for a Trooper, and 1*s* a day, and 1*s*. 6*d*. for a foot souldier, whereby no arrears are due to them, but they owe money to the State, yet they have compelled the Houses to settle upon them for pretended Arrears. 61. Arrears secur'd although the State ows them nothing.

1. The moity of the Excise (that they may have the Souldiers help in leavying it; although to flatter the peope, the Army had formerly declared against the Excise.)

2. The moity of *Goldsmiths-hall.*

3. Remainder of Bishops Lands.

4. The Customes of some Garrisons.

5. Forrest Lands.

This Army brags *They are the Saviours* (nay Conquerours) *of the Kingdom.* Let them say when they saved it, whether at the Fight at *Naseby*, or taking in of *Oxford*, and we will pay them according to the then list. And for all the recuits taken in since the reducing of *Oxford*, it is fit they be disbanded without pay, having been taken in without, nay, against Authority, to drive on wicked designs, and enthrall King, Parliment, City, and Kingdom.

24. *Decemb.* 1647. The two Houses by their Commissioners presented to the King (at *Carisbrook-Castle*) 4. Bills to be passed as Acts of Parliament, and divers Propositions to be assented to. They are all printed, so is his Majestis Answers to them, wherefore I shall need to say the less of them, only a word or two to two of the Bills. 62. 4. Dethroning Bils presented to the King at *Carisbrook Castle.*

1. The Act for *raising, setling, and maintaining Forces by Sea and Land, within the Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland, Wales, *&c.* (though it seems to be but for 20. years) devests the 63. Acts for the Militia.

King, his Heirs, and Successors, of the power of the Militia for ever, without hope of recovery but by repealing the said Act, which will never be in his nor in their power: for,

Fifth, it saith, *That neither the King, nor His Heirs, or Successors, nor any other, shall exercise any power over the Militia by Land or Sea, but such as shall Act by authority and approbation of the said Lords and Commons:* That is, *a Committee of State* of twenty or thirty *Grandees*, to whom the two Houses shall transfer this trust, being over-awed by the Army, (for the ground-work of this Committee was laid by these words, though the Committee be erected since.)

And Secondly, it prohibiteth the King, His Heirs and Successors, &c. after the expiration of the said 20. years, to exercise any of the said powers without the consent of the said Lords and Commons, and in all cases wherein the said Lords and Commons shall declare the safety of the Kingdom to be concerned after the said 20. years expired, and shall pass any Bills for raising, Arming, &c. Forces by Land or Sea, or concerning Leavying of Money, &c. if the Royal assent to such Bills shall not be given by such a time, &c. then such Bills so passed by the Lords and Commons shall have the force of Acts of Parliament without the Royal assent. Lo, here a foundation laid to make an *Ordinance of both Houses* equal to an *Act of Parliament*, & take away the *King's Negative Voice*, if this be granted in one case, it will be taken in another, and then these subverters of our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, will turn their usurpations into a legal Tyranny.

2. It gives an unlimited Power to the two Houses to raise what Forces and what numbers for Land and Sea, and of what persons (without exceptions) they please, and to imploy them as they shall judge fit.

3. To raise what Money they please for maintaining them, and in what sort they think fit, out of any mans Estate. This is a Tax far more Arbitrary and unlimited than Ship-money, and the more terrible because it depends upon the will and pleasure of a multitude, who to support their own tyranny, and satisfie their own hunger after other mens goods, may and do create a *necessity*, and then make that *necessity* the *law* and *rule* of their *actions*

out and our *sufferings*: besides, they are but our fellow subjects that usurp this Dominion over us, which aggravates the indignity. If the 24 *Conservators* of the *Peace* in *Hen.* 3. time, were thought a burden to the Commons, and called *totidem tyranni*; what will our *Grandees* prove when the *Power of the sword* is theirs by *Act of Parliament*? Besides, if the King give them his Sword, they may take all the rest of the Propositions demanded without a Treaty.

64. Bill for adjournment of the Parliament as well for Place as time.

The *Bill for adjournment of both Houses to any other place, &c.* will enable the engaged Party of the two Houses and Army to adjourn the two Houses from time to time, to, or near the Headquarters of the Army; where those Members that refuse to enter into the same Engagement, shall neither sit with accommodation nor safety, and so be shaken off at last: this is a new way of *purging the Houses*. Besides, the Parliament following the motions of the Army, the King shall follow the Parliament, whereby the Army having both King and Parliament present with them, whatsoever attempt shall be made against the Army, shall be said to be against the safety and Authority of the King and Parliament, and a legal Treason, triable by Indictment, not a constructive Treason only triable before the Lords.

Note this Message to the King, *plus significat quam loquitur*, though it holdeth forth but four Demands to open view, yet it includes five; for, if the King passe these four Bils, as Acts of Parliament, either he must do it by his Personal Presence in the House of Peers, or by His Commission under the Great Seal; and so consequently must confirm the Parliaments Great Seal, and all things done by it, (to the nullifying His own Great Seal at *Oxford*.) His personal presence they will not admit; for, though they pretended heretofore they toook up Arms to bring *the King to his Parliament*, yet now they continue in Arms *to keep Him from His Parliament*, lest the presence of the true Sun should obscure such Meteors, and *Ignes fatui*, as they are. Though this may be Godly and Saint-like dealing, yet it is not plain nor fair dealing, *latet anguis in herba*, there is *Coloquintida*, nay death in the pot.

65. The Kings answer debated.

Monday 3 *Jan.* the *Kings Answer* to the said *Bils* and *Propositions* was debated in the House of Commons. And first, Sir *Thomas Wroth* (*Jack-Pudding* to *Prideaux* the Post-master) had his

cue to go high, and feel the pulse of the House; who spake to this purpose, *That* Bedlam *was appointed for madmen, and* Tophet *for Kings: that our Kings of late had carried themselves as if they were fit for no place but* Bedlam: that his humble motion should consist of three parts.

1 *To secure the King, and keep him close in some inland Castle with sure guards.*

2 *To draw up Articles of Impeachment against him.*

3 *To lay him by, and settle the Kingdom without him; he cared not what form of Government they set up, so it were not by Kings and Devils.*

Ireton's Speech. Then Commissary *Ireton* (seeming to speak the sense of the Army, under the notion of many thousand Godly men who had ventured their lives to subdue their enemies) said after this manner, *The King had denied safety and protection to his people by denying the four Bills; that subjection to him was but in lieu of his protection to his people; this being denied, they might well deny any more subjection to him, and settle the Kingdom without him: That it was now expected, after so long patience, they should shew their Resolution, and not desert those valiant men who had engaged for them beyond all possibility of retreat, and would never forsake the Parliament, unless the Parliament forsook them first.*

Cromwel's Speech. After some more debate, when the House was ready for the question, *Cromwel* brought up the rear, and giving an ample Character of the valour, good affections, and godliness of the Army, argued; *That it was now expected the Parliament should govern and defend the Kingdom by their own power and resolutions, and not teach the people any longer to expect safety and government from an obstinate man, whose heart God had hardned: That those men who had defended the Parliament from so many dangers with the expence of their Blood, would defend them herein with fidelity and courage against all opposition. Teach them not by neglecting your own and the Kingdoms safety (in which their own is involved) to think themselves betrayed, and left hereafter to the rage and malice of an irreconcileable enemy whom they have subdued for your sake; and therefore are likely to finde His future Government of them insupportable, and fuller of Revenge than Justice, lest despaire teach them to seek their safety by some other means than adhering to*

you,

you, who will not stick to your selves; and how destructive such a resolution in them will be to you all, I tremble to think, and leave you to judge.

Observe, he laid his hand upon his Sword at the latter end of his speech; that Sword that which by his side could not keep him from trembling when S. *Philip Stapleton* bassled him in the House of Commons.

This concluding Speech having something of menace in it, was thought very prevalent with the House.

The first of the four questions being put, *That the two Houses should make no more Addresses nor Applications to the King*; the House of Commons was divided, 141 *yeas*, to 91 *noes*, so it was carried in the Affirmative. 66. The 4 Bils for no addresses nor applications passed.

The other three Votes followed these Vote with facility: See them in print. Upon the last of these 4 Votes the House was divided, and candles were Voted to be brought it only to tell the House; yet (contrary to the said Order) when the candles were in they proceeded farther, as followeth:

The Members had been locked into the House of Commons from before nine of the clock in the morning to seven at night, and then the doors were unlocked, and what Members would, suffered to go forth, whereby many Presbyterians thinking the House had been upon rising, departed, when presently (the House being grown thin) the Vote to revive the Committee of both Kingdoms called *the Committee of safety* at Darby-house, passed by Ordinance dated 3 *Jan.* 1647. in these words; *Resolved, &c. That the powers formerly granted by both Houses to the Committee of both Kingdoms*, (viz. England *and* Scotland) *in relation to the two Kingdoms of* England *and* Ireland, *be now granted and vested in the Members of both Houses only that are of that Committee, with power to them alone, to put the same in execution.* The original Ordinance that first erected this Committee, and to which this said Ordinance relates, beareth date 7 *February* 1643. in which the English Committees were appointed from time to time, to propound to the Scotish Commissioners whatsoever they should receive in charge from both Houses, and to make report to both Houses, to direct the managing of the War, and to keep good correspondency with forein States, and to receive directions from 67. The Committee of Safety revived.

from time to time from both Houses, and to continue for three months and no longer. But this Ordinance, 3 *January* 1647. vests the said power in the Members thereof onely, and alone: words excluding the two Houses; and for a time indefinite.

There were then added to this Committee, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, in place of Sir *Phil. Stapleton*; Sir *John Evelin junior*, in place of M. Recorder; and the Earl of *Kent*, instead of the Earl of *Essex*. 22 *Jan.* following, the Lords sent down a Message for a farther power to this Committee, which was granted in these words, *Power to suppress Tumults and Insurrections in* England, *&c. and at* Barwick; *and for that purpose the Committee to have power to give Orders and Directions to all the Militia and Forces of the Kingdom.* The addition of four Lords and eight Commoners likewise to this Committee was desired, but denyed.

*The Members of this Committee are now, the E. of *Northumberland*, *Robert* E. of *Warwick*, the E. of *Kent*, *Ed.* E. of *Manchester*, *Wil.* L. *Say* and *Seal*. *Phil.* L. *Wharton*, *Jo.* L. *Roberts*, *Wil. Pierrepoint*, Sir *Hen. Vane* sen. Sr. *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sr. *Wil. Armine*, Sr. *Ar. Hesterig*, Sr. *Hen. Vane* jun. *Jo. Crew*, *Rob. Wallope*, *Oliver* St. *Johns*, Sol. *O. Cromwel*, *Sa. Brown*, *Natha. Fiennes*, Sr. *Jo. Evelin* jun.

68. *Whitehall* and the *Mews* Garrisoned.

Friday 14 *January*, after a long debate, it was ordered that Sir *Lewis Dives*, Sir *John Stowel*, and *David Jenkins*, be tryed as Traytors at the Kings Bench; the Grand Jury had found the Bill against *Jenkins*. Mr. Solicitor, &c. appointed to manage this business, * but *Jenkins* is so great a Lawyer, that the Solicitor durst not venture upon him, the long sword being more powerfull in his mouth than the Law; wherefore the Solicitor found an Errour in the indictment, turned him back again upon the House to be impeached before the Lords, to whose Jurisdiction he pleaded: so the Solicitor put the affront from himself upon the Houses. It was now twelve of the clock, and many of the Independent party began to cry, *Rise, rise*; The Presbyterians thinking all had been done, many went to Dinner, yet the Independents sate still, and finding the House for their turn, moved, *That a Letter might be forthwith sent to* Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, *to send a convenient number of Foot to Garrison* White-hall, *and a party of Horse to quarter in the* Mews. The Lords concurrence was not desired to this Vote, but the Letters immediately drawn and sent.

* See Judge *Jenkins*'s Remonstrance to the Lords and Commons of Parliament, 21. *Feb.* 1647.

Observe, that before this Vote passed, divers forces were upon

upon their March towards the Town, and came to *White-hall* Saturday following by eight of the Clock in the morning.

69. The Armies Declaration, thanking the Commons for their 4. Votes.

Saturday 15. *Jan.* The Army sent a Declaration to the House of Commons, *Thanking them for their 4. Votes against the King*, promising them *to live and die with the Commons, in defence of them against all Opponents*.

70. The Lords pass the 4. Votes.

Many of the Lords had argued very hotly against the said four Votes, insomuch that it was 10. Lords to 10. but this engagement of the Army, and the unexpected garrisoning of *White-hall*, and the *Mews*, turned the scales; so that they passed the said 4. Votes, only adding a short preamble (little to the purpose) holding forth some reasons for passing them, to which the Commons, when they came down, assented. When presently (about twelve of the clock the House being thin) *Dennis Hand* moved, *That whosoever should act against these 4. Votes, or invite other to act against them, should be imprisoned and sequestred.*

71. The Army thanks the Lords.

Three or four days after the Lords had passed the said 4. Votes, the Army vouchsafed to spit thanks in their mouthes, and make much of them. These 4. Votes were generally sinisterly taken, and filled mens minds with suspicion, what form of Government the Grandees would set up, now they had laid by the King; and every mans mind presaged a new War, which they conceived the Independent Grandees were willing to have, to colour their keeping up this Army, and raising money to maintain them, and every man began to lay the project of a new war at their door: notwithstanding, (by way of prevention) they had Impeached divers Members, and Citizens of *London*, for endeavouring a new War, when they did but raise men for their self-defence.

72. The Declaration against the King.

To shew the people therefore the reasons of these 4. Votes, the Independent Grandees appointed a Committee to search into the *Kings* conversation and errors of his Government, and publish them in a Declaration to the World: wherein they objected many high crimes against Him concerning His Fathers death, the loss of *Rochel*, and the Massacre and Rebellion in *Ireland*: which upon debate in the House, were very much moderated by the Presbyterians; of which Declaration I will only say, that they have set forth no new matter therein, which they have not formerly published in parcels, since which time they have

have taken, and caused others to take the National Covenant, whereby *they vow to maintain the King's Person, Crown and Dignity, in defence of Religion, Laws, and Liberties*: and therefore to reprint only the same things as arguments to lay by the King, favours more of design, than justice.

I will wade no farther in the censure of the said Declaration, lest I imitate the Authors of it; and as they by a feeble accusation have done the King much right, so I by a weak defence should do him much wrong.

Tho. Hastrig's Letter concerning the King.

73. The people were as ill satisfied with this Declaration, as with the 4. Votes; wherefore (24. *Feb.*) Mr. Speaker, with much seriousness, presented to the House a Letter out of *Leicester-shire* from *Thomas Hastrig*, (brother to Sir *Arthur*) which was read, to this purpose, *That there was one Mr.* Smalling, *a Committee-man of* Leicester-shire, *who had been a Deputy examiner in the* Star-Chamber, *and affirmed, that above twenty years since there being a suit in* Star-Chamber *between the Earl of* Bristol *Complainant, and the Duke of* Buckingham *Defendant, concerning Physick pressingly administred by the said Duke to King* James; *the said* Smalling *took many Depositions therein, and was further proceeding in the Examinations, until a Warrant, signed by the King, was brought him, commanding him to surcease, and to send him the Depositions already taken; which* Smalling *did: yet kept notes by him of the Principal passages, doubting what further proceedings might be hereafter in a business of such importance.* Sir *Henry Mildmay* moved that *Smalling* be sent for, and examined upon Oath by the Committee that penned the said Declaration; but upon motion of the Presbyterians, he was Ordered to be examined at the Commons Bar. *Smalling* came, produced the Warrant, but no Notes, so this *Chimera* vanished.

What the said Committee would have made of this, who knows? God bless us all from clandestine examinations, especially when they are taken by parties pre-ingaged.

31. *Caroli.* This business had been ventilated and examined against the Duke, and no mention made of poysoning or killing King *James*; it was then only called, *An Act of high presumption and dangerous consequence in the Duke*: nor was there then the least reflection upon King *Charles*; yet now because King *Charles*

dissolved

dissolved that Parliament, the Independent party were willing to raise a suspition against him concerning His Fathers death: whereas the accusation against the Duke of *Buckingham*, 3. *Caroli*, contained 7. or 8. Charges against him, the least whereof might occasion the dissolving of that Parliament.

74. Why the independents went so high against the King: To usurp the regal power into themselves, either in the Houses purged, or in the Committee of Safety at *Derby house*.

These desperate courses (to dishonour the *King*, and make Him uncapable of Government, to ruine His Person, Crown and Dignity, and extirpate Monarchy root and branch) were taken in order to the *usurping the Kingly power into the Grandees of the Parliament and Army*, and in case they could not purge the two Houses, and make them wholly Independent, (which they now despair of) then into the Hands of the Committee, or Council of State at *Derby-house*, and *Grandees* of the Army. In order to which, they are now contriving to strengthen the said Committee with more power and more Members, and to adjourn the Parliament, and sent down the Presbyterian Members into the Country upon pretence of service, where if any Tumults happen (for which their extortions will give sufficient provocation) the said dissenting Members shall bear the blame; and have blank Impeachments given them to purge them out of the Houses, if not out of the world, or at least be sequestred: for now they have squeezed what they can out of the Kings party by Sequestrations, the next fewel to their covetousnes is to sequester the Presbyterians; and then to sequester one another: for they are already divided into *Pure Independents* and *Mixed Independents*, and have feuds amongst themselves, for this faction (insatiate with money and blood) are all beasts of prey; and when they want prey, will prey one upon another: nor shall the Houses meet above one month or two in a year to ratifie and approve what *Derby-house*, and the *Junto* of the Army shall dictate to them; and to give an account to the domineering party how each Member hath carried himself in the Country. Thus instead of *one King*, we shall have *twenty* or *thirty tyrants* in chief, and as many subordinate Tyrants as they please to imploy under them, with the Iron yoak of an Army to hold us in subjection to their Arbitrary Government.

75. Why the Grandees do still continue to truck with the King, notwithstanding the said 4. Votes.

Notwithstanding the aforesaid four Votes and Resolutions, the Cabal of *Grandees* still keep *Ashburnham* and *Barkley* in the

Army, and have ſent divers Turn-coat-Cavaliers and Emiſſaries under-hand diſguiſed to the King, who pretending that by Bribes they had bought their admiſſion to Him, after ſome inſinuations endeavour with falſe and deceitfull news and arguments to ſhake His conſtancy, and perſwade him to paſs the ſaid 4. dethroning Bills, (for theſe Uſurpers of Sovereign Authority long to turn their armed and violent Tyranny into a legal Tyranny) or (at leaſt) to make him *declare againſt the Scots coming in.* In both which caſes He will diſ-hearten His Friends (who endeavour to take the golden reigns of Government out of the gripes of theſe *Phaetons*, and reſtore them again to His hand) unking Himſelf and His Poſterity for ever, be carried up and down like a ſtalking Horſe to their Deſigns, and be Crowned *Ludibrio Coronæ*, with ſtraw or thorns. For who can think that at the end of twenty years, theſe Uſurpers will lay down what they have ſo unjuſtly, contrary to all Laws, Divine and Humane, and contrary to their own Declarations, Oathes and Covenants, extorted? And who can, or dare, wreſt theſe powers out of their hands, being once ſettled and grown cuſtomary in them; the peoples ſpirits broken with an habitual ſervitude; a numerous Army and Garriſons hovering over them; and all places of Judicature filled with corrupt Judges, who ſhall by conſtrained interpretations of the Law, force bloody preſidents out of them, againſt whoſoever ſhall dare to be ſo good a Patriot as to oppoſe their Tyranny? They could make *Steel* ſharp enough to cut Captain *Burlies* throat for attempting to reſcue the King out of the hands of a *Rebellious Army, that neither obeys King nor Parliament*, will find gold and ſilver enough to *corrupt all the Judges*: the mean to prefer and make them *Wild* and *vild* enough for their purpoſes. But it is hoped He hath more of a King, more of man in Him than to leeſe his Principles, and ſtumble again at the ſame ſtone, daſh again upon the ſame Rock, whatſoever Syrens ſing upon it; knowing He hath a Son at liberty to revenge His wrongs, all the Princes of Chriſtendom His Allies, whoſe common cauſe is controverted in His ſufferings; the greateſt men of *England* and *Scotland* of His blood, and the People generally (whoſe fartheſt deſign was, to preſerve their Laws and Liberties, and to defend the Parliament from being conquered by the Sword)

Sword) looking with an angry aspect upon these Seducers, who by insensible degrees, and many forgeries have ingaged them farther than they intended, not to the *Defence of Religion, Laws, and Liberties*, but to *the setting up of Schism, Committee Law, and Martial Law, Impeachments before the Lords, and unlimited slavery.*

And I am confident this Faction despair of working upon the King, who like a Rock is *medio tutissimus undis*, whatsoever reports they give out to the contrary, having from the beginning made lies their refuge, which being wisely foreseen by the King, He sent a Message to both Houses (by way of prevention) delivered in the Painted-Chamber by the Lords of *Londerdale*, one of the Scots Commissioners, consisting of three heads,

1 *That He was taken from* Holdenby *against his will.*

2 *That they should maintain the Honour and Privileges of Parliament.*

3 *That they should believe no Message as coming from him during his Restraint in the Army, but should only credit what they received from His own mouth.*

These Grandees have cheated all the interests of the Kingdom, and have lately attempted the City again, and had the repulse. But the King is their old Customer, and hath been often cheated by them, and having him in strict custody, peradventure they may perswade Him it is for His safety to be deceived once more: wherefore (notwithstanding their many endeavours to root up Monarchy, dethrone the King, and His Posterity, and usurp his power; in order to which, they have over-whelmed Him, and all His, with innumerable calamities and reproaches) yet since the passing of the Declaration against the King, their desperate condition hath enforced them to make new Addresses in private to Him, notwithstanding their four Votes inflicting the *penalitie of Treason upon the Infringers*: But Treason is as natural to *Cromwel*, as *false accusing*, *protesting*, and *lying*; he is so superlative a Traytor, that the Laws can lay no hold on him. Lieutenant Colonel *Lilburn* in a verbal Charge delivered at the Commons Bar, accused him of many Treasonable Acts, which he avowed to make good: and in his Book, called, *A Plea for a Habeas Corpus*: But as if *Cromwel* were a Traytor *cum privilegio*,

the House of Commons, (being under their Armed Guards) dares take no notice of it. But the *Roman Tribune* said to *Scipio Africanus*, in *Livy*, *Qui jus æquum ferre non potest, in eum vim haud injustam fore*, he that exalts himself above the Law, ought not to be protected by the Law.

To conclude, *Cromwel* hath lately had private conference at *Tarnham* with *Hammond*.

The Earl of *Southampton* hath been courted to negotiate with the King, and offered the two Speakers hands for his warrant.

Capt. *Titus* taken into favour and imployed that way.

The *Grandees* have brought themselves into a mist, and now wander from one fooliſh deſign to another.

The Spaniard is said to forecast in his debates, what will happen forty years after. But these purblind Politicians do not foresee the event of their Council forty days, nay hours beforehand; but it is a curse laid upon wicked men, to grope at noon day.

76. Debates in the Hou. of Commons upon the Scots Letters, 1 Concerning the said 4 Votes.

About 5 or 6 of *Jan.* 1647. the Scots Commissioners had written certain Letters to the House of Commons; one whereof *repeating the four Votes against the King*, propounded to know, *whether the Houses by their Votes, That no person whatsoever do presume to make or receive any Application or addresse to, or from the King, would debar the* Scots *to make or receive any Addresses to, or from Him, and so put an incapacity upon Him to perform acts of Government towards them.* In the debate the Independents called to mind a more antient Vote, whereby it was Ordered, *That the* Scots *might be admitted to the King.* Against which was alleged, *That these latter Votes, being made general, without exception, Repealed that former Vote.* At last by an interpretative Vote it was concluded, *That notwithstanding the said four latter Votes*, the former Vote, *That the* Scots *Commissioners might make Addresses to the King*, was still in force. Observe that this was done four or five days after the Scots Commissioners were on their way towards *Scotland*.

2 Concerning 100000l. due to the Scots.

The second Letter was concerning 100000*l.* due by contract to the Scots from the Parliament, whereof 50000*l.* was payable by assignment to divers Scots Gentlemen who had advanced money to hasten the Scots Army to our relief; whereof 10000*l.* was payable to the Earl of *Argyle*.

Sir

Sir *Henry Milmay* made a long Speech in praise of *Argyle*; saying, *That he and his party, and the Scotish Clergy, were the only men that upheld the English interest in* Scotland, *and were better friends to us than all* Scotland *besides*; wherefore he moved, that *Argyle* might be paid his 100001. and the rest continued at interest, at 8 l. *per cent.* Presently the whole Independent gang, with much zeal, and little discretion, ran that way, untill more moderate men stopping them in full cry, minded them what dishonour and danger they might bring their friend into by laying him open to suspition.

77. Six Commissioners sent into *Scotland.*

After this it was resolved to send four Commons and 2 Lords into *Scotland* as Commissioners, with instructions. To send all Independents, would not be acceptable; 2. Presbyterian Commoners therefore were sent, one whereof was sweetned with the gift of 1000l. and an Office, before they would trust him: with them were sent Mr. *Hearl*, and Mr. *Marshal*.

78. Mr. *Marshal.*

Marshal, when he saw Independency prevail, had secretly turned his coat the wrong side outward, and joyned interest with Mr. *Nye*; but before he declared himself, he was to do some service for his new party: wherefore when the Army looked with a threatning posture upon the Parliament and City, before they marched through *London*, (the common Souldiers being in such discontent for want of pay, that they were ready to mutiny and disband, and their Officers scarce daring to Govern them) the first fruits of *Marshal's* service to his new friends, was, to perswade the City to lend the Parliament 500001. to pacifie the Souldiers: assuring them by Letters, that the *Army had nothing but good thoughts toward the City, onely the common Souldiers were troubled for want of pay*: After the City had laid down the said 500001. his next labour was, to perswade the Citizens to *let the Army march through the City without opposition, for avoiding of blood-shed and firing; and to let them possess the Tower, and Lines of Communication.* After these services, the *Grandees* of the Parliament and Army, finding him suitable to them, received him into an avowed favour, and then four Independents and four Presbyterian Divines (conjoyning their Interests) were sent to season the Army, and new tune them according to the more modern design: *Marshal* was one, where, after he had preached according to the

the Dictates of the Grandees of the two Houses and Army for divers weeks. *Marshal* was thought fit to attend the Commissioners into *Scotland*: He and Master *Nye* had been sent to *Carisbroke Castle* formerly with those Commissioners that carried the 4 Bils to the King, and had 500l. a piece given them for their journey.

Scotland, a longer journey, promised a larger reward; it is good being a Postilion of the Gospel at such rates.

The Sunday before he went, he preached at *Margarets Westminster*, and as much cried up Presbytery and the Covenant there, as he had before slighted them in the Army. This was a *Preparation Sermon*, to make him acceptable to Scots, that he might cajole them the easier. Before he went he sent his Agents from house to house at *Westminster*, to beg mens good wills towards his journey. He was willing upon this pretence to get what he could from St. *Margarets* Parish, where he found the people to grow cold in their affections, and contributions to him. Wherefore having made his bargain before he went, to leave S. *Margarets*, and officiate in the *Abby* where he is to have 300l. *per annum* certain allowance, he would rob the *Egyptians* at Saint *Margarets* for a parting blow. This Priest married his own Daughter with the Book of Common prayer and a Ring, and gave for reason, *that the Statute establishing that Liturgy was not yet repealed, and he was loath to have his Daughter whored and turned back upon him for want of a Legal Marriage*: Yet he can declare against all use of it by others. He hath so long cursed *Meroz* and *neutrality*, that he hath brought Gods curse upon the Land, and hath put Church and Commonwealth into a *flame*, but himself and his Brats have *warmed their fingers at it*: as Monies are decried or enhaunsed by the Kings Authority, so is every mans Religion cryed up or down by *Marshal's* authority and stamp.

76. The Answer to the Scots Declaration.

About the 24 of *February*, the *Answer* to the *Scots Declaration* began to be debated in parts: in which Debate the *Covenant* was much undervalued, and called, *An Almanack out of Date*. *Nathaniel Fiennes* argued against it, That that clause in the Covenant, [*To Defend the Kings Person, Crown, and Dignity, &c.*] was inconsistent with their four Votes, *for making no Addresses to the KING*: To which was answered by some,

That

That then they would relinquish the four Votes and adhere to the Covenant.

About the beginning of *March*, was given to Col. *Sydenham* and Col. *Bingham* 1000l. a piece as part of their Arrears; their Accounts not yet stated. To the Lord of *Broghil* 2000l. To Mr. *Fenwick* 500l. for losses. To Mr. *Millington* 2000l. for losses. To Col. *Ven* 4000l. notwithstanding in was moved he might first account for Contribution money, the plunder of the Country about *Windsor*, and the Kings Houshold-stuff, Hangings, Linnen, and Bedding. Mr. *Purie* the Petty-bag office, besides 1000l. formerly given him. To *Purie's* Son, the Clerk of the Peaces place, and 100l. a year: all *Independents*. 80. Money shared amongst godly Members.

The 7. of *March*, an Ordinance passed the Commons to settle 2500l. a year land, out of the Marquess of *Worcesters* estate, upon Lieut. Gen. *Oliver Cromwel*. I have heard some Gentlemen, that know the Mannor of *Chepstow*, and the rest of the Lands settled upon him, affirm, that in the particulars the said lands are so favourably rated, that they are worth 5000l. or 6000l. a year: It is farther said those lands are bravely wooded. You see though they have not made King CHARLES *a glorious King*, as they promised, yet they have setled a *Crown Revenue* upon *Oliver*, and have made him as great and glorious a *K.* as ever *John of Leyden* was. Wonder not that they conspire to keep up this Army, as well to make good these Largesses, as to keep their guilty heads upon their Shoulders. 81. *Cromwel.*

Thursday 9. *March*, the Lords sent a Message to the House of Commons, *To desire their concurrence to the Ingagement of those Members that fled to the Army, to live and die with the Army.* It was debated all day untill 7. of the clock at night; and at last the question put. *That this House doth approve the subscription of the said Members to the said Ingagement.* The House divided upon the question, *yeas* 100. *nays* 91. 82. A Message from the Lords desiring the Commons concurrence to the Ingagement of the Members with the Army. The Ingagem. approved by threats.

Observe, 1. that Mr. Solicitor, *Haslerig*, and many more, when they perceived difficulty in passing it, began to skirmish with their long Sword again. And many told them, *they must live content without doors* (meaning the Army) *as well as within, else all would go naught.*

2. 44. Of those Members that ingaged with the Army sate in the

the Houſe, and Voted in their own caſe; many of them carrying themſelves very high and inſolent in their geſtures and expreſſions.

3. Many Presbyterians left the Houſe becauſe it was late; and ſome (as it is thought) not daring to Vote in the Negative.

4. This Engagement about ſix months ago had been ſent to the Commons by the Lords, once or twice, and was rejected, yet now was obtruded upon them again by the Lords, who would not acquieſce, contrary to the privileges of the Houſe of Commons.

5. This approbation thus ſurreptitiouſly gotten, is equal to a Pardon ſued forth before Conviction, which in Law amounteth to a Confeſſion of the Crime.

83. The temper of the Houſe tried, had the Ingagement not been approved, a new Charge from the Army intended.

6. The *Agitators* tell you in *Derby-houſe Projects*, pag. 7. *That this Engagement was ſent down to the Commons to try the temper of the Houſe, and if the Houſe had not approved of the Eagagement, the reſolution of their ſecret Counſel was to fly to their Armes, and make a new Charge againſt their principal oppoſers*; for they acknowledge amongſt themſelves, *That they Rule by Power only, and that the Houſe of Commons is no longer theirs than they overawe them, and that they fear the Critical day will come which will diſcover the Parliament to be no longer theirs than while they have a force upon it.*

As men ready to ſink embrace every ſhadow of help, and catch hold of leaves, twigs, and bulruſhes, to ſupport them; ſo theſe deſperate and purblind protectors, having engaged themſelves in a way of Tyranny, out of which they can find no iſſue, lay hold of frivolous inventions to peece up from time to time their ill-laid deſigns, like the man in the parable, *That patched up his old Garment with new cloath, which breaking out again, left the rent wider than it was before.*

84. A project to unite all Intereſts.

Their laſt project was *to unite all Intereſts in the Houſes, City, and Army*; To which purpoſe *Cromwel* (the heavieſt, baſeſt, and moſt ridiculous Tyrant that ever any noble Nation groned under) made a Speech in the Houſe of Commons: To which was Anſwered, *That the Members were choſen and truſted by the people, to purſue one common Intereſt*, which was, *the common good, the ſafety and Liberty of the People, and whoſoever had any peculiar Intereſt*

eccentrick

eccentrick from that, was not fit to ſit in that aſſembly, and deſerved to be called to a ſtrict account by thoſe that truſted him.

Obſerve, that the extent of this project was to conjoyn theſe *three Intereſts* from upholding the greatneſſe of the *Grandees*, in the *Parliament*, *City*, and *Army*; for in all three the vulger multitude, and the more modeſt and honeſt ſort, are but in the ſame condition with other men: the Parliament bearing the *Authority*, the Army the *Sword*, and the City the *purſe*.

See the Argument againſt all accommodatiō between the City and Grandees, &c. and the ſeaſonable caution to the City, printed at the latter end of this Book.

The *firſt*, ſhall be the Task-maſters, and impoſe Tribute.

The *ſecond*, the Sheriffs, or rather free-booters, to leavy it by diſtreſſe.

And the *third*, the Brokers, to receive and buy it off.

But it pleaſed God to beſtow ſo much providence and integrity upon the City, that when upon Saturday 8. *April*, 1646. *Cromwel* and his fellow *Grandees* offered this temptation (at a Common-Councel) to them,

The City grew wiſer than our firſt Parents, and rejected the Serpent and his ſubtilties, inſomuch that *Cromwel* netled with the affront, called his Solicitor *Glover* to account by what Authority he had offered the *reſtitution of the Tower and Militia, and the inlargement of their accuſed Aldermen*: who anſwered, *he did it by his Authority*, and delivered him a Warrant to that purpoſe, ſigned by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, *Oliver Cromwel*, Mr. Solicitor, and young Sir *Henry Vane*, which *Cromwel* had the impudence to put in his pocket.

85. A device to put the Apprentices into a Tumult.

Cromwel had felt the pulſe of the City long before by his Agents *Glover* and *Watkins*, and found them averſe from complying with him: wherefore (being a man of an early, as well as an implacable malice) he (by the advice of the Committee of *Derby-houſe*) caſt about with the Schiſmatical Lord Mayor *Warner*, (he that raiſed the ridiculous Tumult at Chriſtmas about Roſemary and Bayes, a man that had been choſen Mayor by power of Parliament, (out of courſe) to carry on the deſign of the faction) and with the Lieutenant of the Tower, how to put the City into ſome diſtemper, of which they might take advantage. The Citizens were well acquainted with their jugling tricks, they had no hopes to work upon them: wherefore they contrived how to put a provocation upon the ſilly Apprentice Boys, and put them

forth into some rash action, of which they might make use to carry on their designes against the whole City: wherefore upon Easter-day, 1648. in the evening some few apprentices playing in *Finnisbury fields*, some Souldiers were sent to drive them away; which they did, and imprisoned some of them for not readily obeying: upon Sunday following, 9. *April*, divers Apprentices being at play (according to custome) in *Moor-fields*, the Mayor sent Capt. *Gale* (one of the new Captains of the Hamlers, a Silk-Throster, and a Tub-preacher, and one that ran away at the fight at *Newbury wash*, and hid himself in a Ditch, as my L. *Wharton* at the Battle of *Keynton* hid himself in a Saw-pit) thither to disturb them, with about 50. or 60. of his Trained Band, and no more; (that he might the better encourage the Boys to resist him) who surlily asking them *what they did there?* some of them answered, *they did no harm but only play; and since all Holy dayes have been Voted down, they had no other time of Recreation:* The Captain insolently commanded them to *be gone*; they replyed, *he had no authority so to do*, and continued playing: whereupon the Captain commanded his Musquetiers to *shoot amongst them*; which they forbearing, he took a Musquet himself, and discharged amongst them, when presently two or three schismatical Musquetiers of his Company following his example, discharged upon them likewise, and killed (or, as the Schismaticks say, wounded only) one of the Boyes: whereat the Boys making a great out-cry, more company gathered to them, and so with stones, brick-bats, and sticks, they dispersed the Trained Band, and at last got their Colours, and instantly in a childish jollity marched (un-armed as they were) towards the *Mewes*; when presently a party of Horse (ready prepared for this forelaid design) met them, charged, and with ease routed them; *Cromwel* himself animating the Troopers *to shoot and spit them, and to spare neither man woman nor child.* All Sunday night the Apprentices kept in a body in the City, locked the City gates, but set no guards upon them; whereby you may see this business proceeded meerly from the rash and unpremeditated folly of Children, not from the advice of Men: howsoever the Independent faction in the House of Commons have since aggravated it: to countenance their future cruelty and rapines upon the City. Monday morning Sir *Tho. Fairfax* sent a strong

ſtrong party into the City, who fell upon the Boyiſh rabble, routed and killed many, and ſhot poor Women great with Child, ſitting in their ſtalls, one whereof the Child lived two hours in her belly after her brains were ſhot out: a man likewiſe not knowing of their coming, as he was drinking Milk at the corner of a ſtreet, was ſhot (as it were) in ſport: as they rid, they eryed, *Cuckolds keep your Houſes*, cutting and wounding all they met; *Cromwel* (who followed in the Reer ſafe enoogh; the Van having cleered the ſtreets before him) eryed out to them to *Fire the City*. Oh *Oliver*! what a barbarous *John of Leyden* art thou become? Oh *London!* how wretched a *Munſter* wilt thou become? at laſt they drove thoſe ſilly unarmed wretches into *Leaden-hall*, and took many of them Priſoners, none of the Trained Bands, nor Citizens, appearing to help thoſe poor Boys, but leaving the Souldiers to get a bloody and boyiſh Triumph over them, as they pleaſed; they are now impriſoned in *Cromwels* ſhambles at *White-hall*. This is the truth of the buſineſſe, notwithſtanding, the long-winded lying report made by Alderman *Fouks*, at the Commons Bar: a man that hath feather'd his neſt well theſe miſerable times, and hath much publick money ſticking to his fingers; who, when he gave in his accompt before the General Committee of Accounts, refuſed to give it in upon Oath, (as other men did) alleging *Magna Charta, that no man was bound to accuſe himſelf*. It ſhould ſeem he had ſomething in his Conſcience that would not endure the teſt of an Oath: but he is one of the Godly, and therefore the good things of this world belong unto him.

The Houſe of Commons (upon this occaſion) gave 1000l. to the Souldiers for their valorous exploit, and Voted 1000 Foot, and 100 Horſe to be kept in the *Tower*. The Garriſons of *White-hall* and the *Mewes* to be ſtrengthened: 3 Barges capable of 50 Muſquetiers apiece to lie at *Whitehall* for the Souldiers to convey themſelves to any landing place to diſperſe ſuch watermen as ſhal aſſemble: The City Chains to be taken away from their Poſts, and a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* to iſſue forth to murder more of theſe Children legally.

The Mayor having kindled this fire in the City, ſtole out at a window diſguiſed, and hid his fooliſh head in the Tower.

The House of Commons (over-ruled by the Grandees) Voted a day of thanksgiving for this delivery. So bold are these Saints, as to mock Gods holy name with impious devotions to colour their designs.

86. The Lord *Inchiquin*. The Lord *Inchiquin*, president of *Munster* and General of the Army there, had a long time been heaved at by the Independent faction. The Lord *Liste*, (who gaped after his imployment) Sir *John Temple*, *Cromwell*, the Lord *Broughill*, Sir *Arthur* and Sir *Adam Loftus*, and others: who by obstructing all supplies of Money, Ammunition, Victual, Cloathes, laboured to mutiny and disband his Army, that they might send Schismaticks of their own party to Lord it there, as they do here, and keep *Ireland* as a Retreat for the Saints: for the better effecting whereof they sent over many Emissaries, whom they had commended to him, to be officers in his Army. When this would not do, they Printed scandalous Articles against him, and put infinite provocations upon him to incite him to do that which they falsly accused him to have done already; But the many gallant services he preformed since the publishing those Articles gave them the lie, and confuted all their slanders: at last (under colour of sending a supply of forces to him) they projected to surprise him, and bring him away prisoner; so that he hath suffered all the convulsions that trecherous friends, and malicious enemies could put upon him. And lately (for the more close conveyance of the design) the Houses sent three Commissioners towards *Ireland*, to survey his Actions; but (as if it were purposely done) when the Commissioners came as far on their way as *Bristol*, about a dozen renegado Officers of his Army met the Commissioners and turned them back again. The said Officers posted up to the Parliament before the Commissioners, and the 13 *April* were called in to the Commons Bar, where they made a relation to the House to this purpose; That the Lord *Inchiquin* having made an expedition into the County of *Kerry*, upon his return, sent for these Officers into his presence Chamber, and told them, *He intended to declare against the Army and Independent party in* England, *who kept the King and Parliament under a force, that he would stand for the Liberty of the King and Parliament, and a free Conference to settle Peace; and that he expected all his Officers*

should

should joyn with him in so honourable an undertaking; but should take an Oath of secrecy, before he discover'd himself farther to them. They Answered, *They could make no such Oath before they knew whether they might with a safe conscience keep it*, saying, *they would be true to the Parliament.* My Lord *Inchiquin* replied, *So have I, and will be; delude me not with ambiguous words, do you mean this pretended Parliament?* telling them farther, *he had good correspondence with all the Presbyterians in* Scotland *and* England, *as well in the Parliament, as out of it; that he doubted not to go through with his undertaking; and if the worst hapned, to make good conditions for himself and his party. That he would make peace with my Lord* Taff, *(and that he knew the* Independents *in* England *were upon Treaty with* Owen Roe Oneal) *who was a man of their humour, and loved to keep all in combustion.* They refused to joyn, he dismissed them for *England.* The same day Letters from Capt. *John Grosthen* (Vice-Admiral of the Irish Seas) from a shipboard, were read in the House, much to the same purpose, though not so large: wherein he said, *He had already blocked up all my Lord* Inchiquin's *Havens.*

87. *Allen* the Gold-smith moveth to put the House to the touch by some Covenant, Declaration, &c.

Presently *Allen* the Goldsmith moved, *That since the Lord* Inchiquin *had discovered that he had a correspondency with the Presbyterians in the House, before they dealt with their Enemies without doors, they should try who were their Enemies within doores, by putting all men to some Covenant, Engagement, or Protestation, &c.* And Lieutenant General *Cromwell* said, *That being to debate this business to morrow, whosoever with crosse Arguments shall spin out the debate, and so retard our proceedings, (by my consent) shall be noted with a Black Coal:* to which was answered, *That this tended to take away freedom of debate, which was the life of Parliaments, and of all Councils; and was destructive to the very being of Parliaments.*

It is not amisse to insert here by way of digression, what I formerly omitted: Sir *Henry Mildmay* long since moved, *That* 150 *rich Guard Coats of the King, might be sold for* 800 l. *to find Fire and Candle for the Souldiers in* White-hall. The question put: The Speaker gave judgement, *the Yeas had it.* Mr. *Edward Stephens* declared *the Noes had it.* They were unwilling to divide upon such a question: but Mr. *Stephens* persisted; and *Robert Reynolds*, said

said aloud, *notice shall be taken of him for putting such a dishonour upon the House.* Upon the Division, the *Noes* carried it by nine voices. Thereupon, complaint was made against *Reynolds* for *attempting against the liberty of Voting*, but no redress.

But to return from my digression: the next day (14 of *April*) it was moved that my Lord *Inchiquin's* Son, a Child of 8 or 9 years old, going to School at *Thistleworth, might be secured in the Tower and kept for a Hostage.* To which was Answered, *That no man could take an Hostage without consent: an Hostage must be given upon the publick faith, upon some stipulation, and must be so received, by mutual agreement; you cannot punish the child for the Fathers fault*; yet he was voted to the Tower, and sent. My Lord *Inchinquin's* Commission as President of *Munster*, and General of the Army, Voted *void, and no man to obey him*, himself Voted a *Traitor*; yet no man examined upon Oath against him, nor any man sent to take information of the business into *Ireland*, and his professed enemy the Lord *Lisle*, is to go General into *Munster* in his room; and the said fugitive Officers all rewarded, as if they had brought acceptable news.

This day *Reynolds* revived *Allens* motion for *putting the Members to the Test, by some Covenant, Protestation, or Declaration, subscribed, That this is a free Parliament, and that they would live and die with this Parliament and Army*: To which was answered,

1. That by Ordinance of both Houses, all men were enjoyned to take the National Covenant. This Covenant is the true Touchstone of the Parliament, and so agreed upon by the wisdom of both Nations; yet many sit here who refuse to obey this Ordinance: I know no reason therefore why any man should obey you in any other Ordinance of this Nature: let us keep the old Covenant before we take any new.

2. It hath been moved in the House, that the Oathes of Justices of the Peace, and Sheriffs, might be taken away: I hope you will not abolish legal Oathes, and impose illegal Oathes. This House hath not so much Authority, as to administer an Oath, much more to impose one: you must allow to others that liberty of Conscience which you demand for your selves.

3. Major *Gray* told you my Lord *Inchiquin* said he had correspondency with all the Presbyterians in the House, who had made

made their peace with the King. But my Lord *Inchiquin* told him farther, the Independents were upon Treaty with *Owen Roe*, and *Oneal*, let them clear themſelves of that imputation firſt before they give a purgation unto others, otherwiſe what you do will favour of force.

4. The true Touch-ſtone to try every mans integrity is to examine, who have inriched themſelves by the calamities of the times and your ſervice, and who are impoveriſhed.

5. This is a new device to purge the Houſe.

88. The Counties compelled to give thanks to the Houſes for their Votes againſt the King.

The *Grandees* of the Houſe have cantonized the Kingdom between them, every man in his Diviſion protecting the Country Committees, and receiving tribute from them in recompence of their protection; and *Prideaux* the Poſt maſter being King of the *Weſt Saxons*, his Vice-roy or Lord Deputy for the County of *Somerſet* is that running Col. *John Pyne*, who being often inſpired with Sack, rules the Committee and County by inſpirations. *Pyne* and his Peers of the Committee, to pleaſe his ſuperiours, ſet on foot a draught of a *Petition* to be handed by the Country, *Giving thanks to the Parliament for the four Votes againſt the King*, and *promiſing to live and die with the Parliament and Army*, and *deſiring the County might be freed from Malignants, Neuters, and Apoſtates*; which (in their interpretation) ſignifies *Presbyterians* and *moderate men*, who will not dance about the flame when the Independents make a Bonfire of the Common-wealth. The Eaſtern Diviſion of *Somerſet-ſhire* rejected the Petition; in the Weſtern Diviſion *Pyne* and his Committee ſending abroad his Sequeſtrators with the Petition, (threatned to take them for Malignants, and Sequeſter them that refuſed) got many Subſcriptions; but the Subſcribers ſince (better informed of the danger and miſchief of thoſe Votes) retracted what they had done by a *counter Petition*, wherein they declare, that *their Subſcription to the former Petition was contrary to their Judgement and Conſciences, and extorted by the terror of Sequeſtrators, and threats of being Sequeſtred.* This affront ſtung the Committee, and opened the eyes of the Country: As the like fooliſh attempt of Sir *Henry Mildmay* did the eyes of the County of *Eſſex*. Wherefore to find a Plaſter for this broken pate, Sergeant *Wild* (he that hang'd Capt. *Burly*) coming that Circuit, care was taken to have a ſelect Grand-

Jury.

Jury of Schismaticks and Sequestrators blended together, who made a presentment subscribed by 19. of their hands, which Sergeant *Wild* preserved in his pocket; and upon Tuesday 18. *April*, delivered with as much gravity as a set speech and a set ruffe could furnish him withall in the House of Commons, and was read and hearkned unto by the thriving Godly, with as much attention, as pricking up of eares, and turning up of eyes could demonstrate: the Contents of this presentment were the same with the aforesaid revoked Petition. Great care was taken to give thanks to the High Sheriff and Grand Jury, who had so freely delivered the sence of that wel-affected County: and as much care taken to improve this Talent and put it to interest throughout the Kingdom. Collonel *Purefoy* is now at this work in *Warwick-shire*. Sir *Arthur Hasterig* about *Newcastle*, others in other places. Pitifull Crutches to support a cripled reputation, which now halts, and begs for relief worse than their own maimed Souldiers do, and with as bad success, they have juggled themselves out of credit, and would fain juggle themselves in again. Behold the wisdom of our *Grandees*, wise, religious, new-modelled Politicians, who have brought themselves and the whole Kingdom into these deplorable, contemptible straits; take notice of your Representative, you that are represented, call them to a seasonable account: But whither doth my zeal carry me? I shall anon stumble upon a new fangled Treason to be declared against me, without, nay against Law.

89. Mens tongues tied up by an Ordinance.

Friday 21. *April*, An Ordinance was presented to the House, intituled, *For suppressing all Tumults and insurrections* (the Committee of Safety at *Derby House* had before an ample power conferred upon them for that purpose; but guilty consciences, though they be safe, are never secure; like *Cain*, they think that every man will slay them) it was passed after some amendments to this purpose, *That any three Committee-men shall have Power to Imprison and Sequester all such as shall actually adhere to any that shall raise or endeavour to raise Tumults and Insurrections; or shall speak or publish any thing reproachfull to the Parliament, or their proceedings.* Behold here an excise (amounting to the Value of all you have) set upon every light word; a man made an offender for a word, to the utter ruine of him and his posterity, under colour

colour of *defending Laws, Liberties, and Properties*, you are *cheated of them all*, and *reduced* to meer and absolute *slavery* and *beggery*: you are not Masters of your own carcasses, yet your mouths are but toned up; you must not be allowed that silly comfort of venting your griefs by way of complaint; what Tyrant was ever so barbarous, so indiscreet as to do the like? It was moved that Offenders of this kind might be bound to the good behaviour, and the offences proved openly at the Assizes or Sessions, before so destructive a punishment be inflicted. There are three principles in Law, of which the Laws are very tender, and will not suffer them to be touched but upon great Offences, cleer proofs, and exact formalities observed, *life*, *liberty*, and *estate*: by *Magna Charta*, the *Petition of Right*, and many other Statutes, these principles are so sacred, that nothing but the Law can meddle with them, *Nemo imprisonetur aut disseisietur nisi per legale judicium parium suorum*. You have made the people shed their money and blood abundantly, pretending defence of *Religion*, *Laws*, and *Liberties*; let them now at last (being a time of peace) enjoy what they have so dearly paid for; and delay them not with a pretended necessity of your own making; you now make all that is, or can be neer and deer to them, liable to the passions of three Committee-men, to judge and execute according to their discretion, without Law, or so much as a formality thereof: And yet both Houses of Parliament have often heretofore offered to abolish those Committees, as men whose wickedness and folly they and the whole Kingdom were ashamed of. The Grandees of the Parliament and Army, when the Houses are called, and full, have resolved to draw their forces neer about the Town, and by that terrour to trie the temper of the Houses; such Members as will not comply with them, they will with fresh Charges purge out of the House, and publish base and infamous scandals against them, to which if they submit with silence, they betray their reputations for ever, and spare the credits of their jugling enemies. If they make any defence for their honours by way of Apology, they shall be brought within the compasse of this devouring, inslaving Ordinance, as *men that reproach the Parliament, and their Proceedings*. Thus the same whip shall hang over the shoulders of the Presbyterian party, (who will not agree to *King-deposing*

Anarchy and Shisme) as it did formerly over the Kings party. And the Presbyterians shall be squeesed into the Independents coffers, as formerly the Kings party were, so long as they had any thing to lose; for the whole earth is little enough for these Saints, who are never satisfied with money and blood, although they never look towards Heaven but through the spectacles of this world. The old *elogium* and Character of this English Nation was, that they were *Hilarè gens, cui libera mens & libera lingua*: But now (Country-men) your tongues are in the Stocks, your bodies in every gaole, your souls in the dark, and estates in the mercy of those that have no mercy, and at the discretions of those that have no discretion: Farewell *English-liberty*.

90. The Kentish Committee-War.

In the Epistle to this book, I have given you an account of the bloody Answer given to the *Surrey* Petitioners, *May* 16. 1648. I must in the next place speak something of the *Kentish Petition*, and of the *Committee-war* they raysed to oppose it; which took his rising and beginning partly from the insolencies and oppressions of their tyrannical *Committee-men*, (persons for the most part of weak fortunes, and weaker wits) and partly from the frantick zeal of the Mayor of *Canterbury* (who for his Religion, prudence and honesty, may well be younger brother to *Warner* Lord Mayor of *London*) upon *Christmas day* 1648. sundry people going to the Church of *Canterbury* to solemnize that day, were uncivily interrogated, and roughly handled by the Mayor, as if it were superstition, nay impiety to serve God on that day; or as if some dayes were exempted from serving God, as some days are exempted from worldly labour: This grew to a Tumult, which the Committee of the County hearing, they presently gathered forces to make ostentation of their power in suppressing it, but were prevented by intelligence that all was quiet; but this quietnesse was rather a truce, than a lasting peace, a desire of revenge against the Mayor for wounding some of the People, like fire hid under ashes, broke forth two dayes after, but was presently pacified by the discreet indeavours of Sir *W. Man*, Ald. *Sabin*, and Mr. *Lovelace* a Lawyer. The Committee of that County presently assemble *forces*, with which (together with their Chaplains & other instruments of war) they march to reduce the City, and (though they had newes that *all was appeased*) yet would they not believe it, but continued

nued their march in triumph; where finding the Gates open, they took them off and burnt them, threw down part of their Walls, thereby degrading the City, and turning it into a Village, as a trophy of their high indignation; committed many to Prison upon light suspicions, amongst whom, the aforesaid 3 Peacemakers, for being so saucy as to compose the difference, and thereby deprive their *highnesses* of a Triumphant Victory. For these upstart Committees mounted above the sphere of their activity, and having stolen his Majesties Sword (His principal marke of Soveraignty wherewith he protects his people) out of his Scabbard, know not how to use it, but to the destruction of the people: like ill-natured Children, they have gotten a gay thing, and must do mischief with it. And for farther magnifying of their power to the Country, and their diligence to the Parliament, they charged the prisoners with High Treason, and so forgot them languishing in Gaol, had not those Gentlemen remembred themselves and clamoured for a Trial; which at last was granted them by a Commission of *Oyer* and *Terminer* to Sergeant *Wyld*, and Sergeant *Creswell*: the Juries were men known to be wel-affected to the Parliament, who found *Ignoramus* upon the Bill, and (notwithstanding many checks and taunts from the Committee, and the refusing of the return) adhered, so that the Court adjourned for some months: Hereupon the Kentish men fearing the tyrannical disposition of their Committees, consulted with the said Grand Jury upon the place concerning a Petition to the Parliament *for Peace*, to end our distractions; which Petition was subscribed by the Grand Jury, in the name of the whole County. The Committee jealous that these things would hearten the People, and loosen the bonds of that slavish fear, wherein they had hitherto held them captive, printed, and caused to be published in all Churches a Paper prohibiting the same Petition, and branding it with the name of *seditious and tumultuous*, saying, *they would hang two in every Parish that were promoters of it, and sequester the rest*. And endeavoured first to raise forces in the County; but at last made their complaint to the Army. When the Country saw their just desires like to be suppressed by Arms, and themselves to be still Committee-ridden, they resolved upon a place of meeting to promote their Petition, and

to come Armed thither for their own defence onely. But the County Committee plied their busineſſe ſo well with the Committee of *Derby Houſe* and the Army, that they firſt drew a party of Horſe into the County, who committed many murders according to Cuſtome, and then the whole Army which at *Blackheath* encamped on the ſame place where the Petitioners intended to *Rendezvouz*. So the reſult of all is but this: The whole County of *Kent* oppreſſed by a tyrannous Committee, and a lingring war, now likely to be renued, prepare to preſent a Petition to the Parliament *for Peace*, and had appointed a day and place of meeting, which by reaſon of the large extent of the County they could not alter at the pleaſure of the Committee: and being terrified by the menaces and warlike preparations of the ſaid Committee, brought their Arms with them in order onely to ſelf-defence, (allowed by the Laws of God and Man, and by the doctrine and practice of this Parliament and Army; and peradventure induced thereto by the ſad Maſſacre of the *Surry* Petitioners) The Committee to ſupport their uſurped, illegal authority, invite an Army to break in upon them with *fire* and *ſword*, and ſo enforced them upon thoughts and actions of War, never before thought on: as will appear,

1. Becauſe many of the Petitioners went home the next day after the *Rendezvouz*.

2. The County had provided no General, nor no old Commanders.

3. They never thought of forming an Army until Sir *Tho. Fairfax* was ſtorming one of their Towns.

4. The *Kentiſh-men* were compelled to take in *Sandwich*, and the 3 Caſtles, leſt they ſhould fall upon the backs of them when the Army marched againſt them; yet did they hurt no man in perſon or goods: which argued a peaceable diſpoſition, aymed only at defence. Thus you ſee a whole County always well affected to the Parliament, complaining of a few Independent ſectary Committee-men, Sequeſtrators, &c. for infinite oppreſſions and cheats dayly committed: they being weighed in the ſcales together, the whole County are thought too light for want of an unpartial holding the ballance even: one prudential conſideration, that they muſt not diſcountenance their friends

(as

(as they call the Committee) and something else more substantial, being put upon the Commirtees scale, hoyseth the whole County into the ayr. And when the Parliaments Army was at *Blackheath*, the County sending some of their Gentry with Petitionary Letters to the House of Commons, declaring *the peaceableneſſe of their inclinations, their continued obedience to the Houſes, and a deſire their grievances againſt their Committee might be put into a way of examination and redreſſe*, they could obtain no other Answer (the schismatical ingaged party overpowering the House with the near approach of their own Army, for it is no bodies else) than, *that they would ſend them an anſwer by their General*; which was as much as if they had said, *They would ſend an anſwer by the Executioner*: the terrour of this answer made the Country desperately ingage in an un-premeditated War, for which they were wholly unprovided, as the irresolute and distracted managing of it makes manifest. But this advantage was greedily laid hold of by the Saints, to ravish a victory from the Country, which they were resolved to use with so much secrecy and solemn cruelty, that the example thereof should strike an awfulneſſe into the hearts of all that should hear of it, and beget a slavish fear in the whole Kingdom to submit to the laying aside of the KING, and his Negative Voice, and the establishing of a tyrannical Oligarchy, in the Grandees of the two Houses and Army: for finding the whole Kingdom to hate them with a perfect hatred, they have no hope to govern by Love, but by Fear; which (according to the Turkish rule) is more predominant and constant passion. And certainly had not *Goring's* passing over at *Greenwich* into *Eſſex* compelled *Fairfax* to follow immediately after with his Army, they had been used with much extremity: insomuch that *Weaver*, (a Member, fuller of zeal than wisdom, though wise enough for his own profit, as most Saints and knaves are) moved in the House, *That all* Kent *might be ſequeſtred, becauſe they had rebelled, and all* Eſſex, *becauſe they would rebell*. And truly this is as good a way as *Cromwel's* selling his Welch Prisoners for 12d. a head to be transported into barbarous Plantations, whereby to expell the *Canaanites*, and make new plantations in old *England* for the Godly, the seed of the Faithfull: for this faction (like the Divell) cry, *all is mine*.

27. *May*

91. Banbury-Castle obtruded upon the State.

27. *May* A friend of my Lord *Say's* moved in the House of Commons, *That* Banbury-Castle *might be demolished to prevent any surprise thereof by Malignants*, saying, *it had already cost the State* 200000*l. to reduce it, and had undone the Country, which was unable to pay for it: it belonged to a Noble, Godly person, the L.* Say, *and it was not fit to demolish it without his consent and recompence; it was therefore desired the State should bear the charge, his Lordship being willing to sell it for* 2000*l.* To which was answered, *That other well-affected Gentlemen had their Houses destroyed for service of the State, without recompence, not so well provided to bear the loss as my Lord* Say; *as Mr.* Charles Doyly, *two handsome habitable Houses, Mr.* Vachell, *some Houses in* Reading, *and others well deserving of the State, though not of themselves.* This Castle was unhabitable, a rude heap of stones, a publick nusance to the Country. It cost his Lordship but 500*l.* and now to obtrude it upon the State at 2000*l.* price, in so great a scarcity and want of mony, the Kingdom graoning under Taxes, was not reasonable. So Divine providence not saying *Amen* to it, this Cheat failed like the untimely birth of a Woman.

92. The Impeached Lords, Members and Aldermen.

About the beginning of *June*, a debate hapned in the House of Commons about the four imprisoned Aldermen, occasioned by a Petition from the City, and concerning the impeached Lords and Commons. Mr. *Gewen* spake modestly in their behalf, saying, *That what they did was done by virtue of an Ordinance of Parliament made this very Sessions of Parliament, and without any intent to raise a new war, but only to defend the City against the menaces of the Army marching up against them and the Parliament.* But Mr. *Gourdon* (a man hot enough for his zeal to set a Kingdom on fire) Answered, *He thought they intended a new War, and were encouraged thereto by the Gentleman that spake last; when he said to them at their Common Council, Up and be doing:* Mr. *Walker* (perceiving Mr. *Gewen* to be causlesly reflected upon) replied, *that since this debate upon the City Petition tended towards a closing up of all differences, it was unfit, men that spake their consciences freely and modestly should be upbraided with Repetitions tending to dis-union*, and desired men might not be permitted to vent their malice under colour of shewing their zeal: when presently. *Tho. Scot*, the Brewers Clerk (he that hath a Tally of every mans faults but his

own

own hanging at his Girdle by virtue of his Office, being Deputy-Inquiſitor, or Hangman to *Miles Corbet* in the clandeſtine Committee of examinations) replyed upon Mr. *Walker*, *That the Gent. that ſpake laſt was not ſo well-affected, but that the cloſe Committee of examinations would find cauſe to take an order with him ſhortly:* Mr. *Walker* offered to anſwer him, and demanded the Juſtice of the Houſe, but could not be heard: thoſe that ſpake in behalf of the Aldermen, were often affronted, and threatned with the diſpleaſure of the Army, which they alleged, *would be apt to fall into diſtempers if we diſcharged them.* Notwithſtanding theſe menaces, it was Voted, that *the Houſe would not proſecute their Impeachments againſt the ſaid four Aldermen*, Sir John Maynard, *and the ſeven Lords*; *and that they would proceed no farther upon their Order for impeaching Mr.* Hollis, Sir William Waller, &c. Two or three dayes after, a motion was ſet on foot, *That the Order whereby the ſaid Members were diſabled from being of the Houſe might be revoked*; many zealots argued fiercely, and threatned againſt it; amongſt many arguments for them, a Preſident was inſiſted upon, *That Maſter* Henry Martin *was by Order diſabled from being a Member, yet was afterwards readmitted upon his old Election:* and deſired theſe Gentlemen might find equall juſtice. The Houſe having freed them *à Culpa*, could not in equity but free them *à pœna*, and put them in the remainder of all that belonged to them. But Sir *Peter Wentworth* anſwered, *That Mr.* Martins *caſe and theirs differed: Mr.* Martin *was expelled for words ſpoken againſt the King, ſuch as every mans Conſcience told him were true; but becauſe he ſpoke thoſe words unſeaſonably, when the King was in good ſtrength, and the words (whether true or falſe) were in ſtrictneſſe of Law, Treaſon: the Houſe* (eſpecially the lukewarm men) *conſidering the doubtfull events of War, diſabled and committed him, leſt the whole Houſe might be drawn in compaſs of High Treaſon for conniving at them*: which was a prudential Act contrary to juſtice, and contrary to the ſenſe of the Godly and honeſt party of the Houſe. But afterwards (the King growing weaker, and the Parliament ſtronger) the Houſe reſtored Maſter *Martin*, and thought fit to ſet every mans tongue at liberty to ſpeak truth even againſt the King himſelf; and now every day words of a higher nature are ſpoken againſt him, by the well-

affected

affected Godly in the House. After many threats used by *Wentworth, Ven, Harvy, Scot, Gourdon, Weaver, &c.* The said disabling Order was repealed.

93. Members added to the Committee of Safety at *Derby house.*

About the same time the Lords sent a Message to the Commons, that *they had named six Lords to be added to the Committee of safety, and desired the House to adde twelve Commons to them.* (This had five or six times been brought down from the Lords before, and received so many denials, but the Lords would not acquiesce) the Message came down about one of the Clock, the House being thin, many argued against it, saying, that there were seven Lords and fourteen Commons of that Committee already, enough (if not too many) to dispatch business with secrecy and expedition; that to adde six Lords more to them was (in effect) to make the whole House of Peers of that Committee; so the whole House of Peers, and twenty six of the ablest and best spoken Commons being ingaged in that Committee, that Committee would sway the Houses which way they pleased; draw, by degrees, all power and authority from the Parliament to themselves; cause the House to adjourn at pleasure, or leave them so evirtuated, and enervated, that they should no longer keep the dignity nor Authority of a Parliament; contrary to the trust reposed in them by those that chose them, and contrary to the tenor of the Writ of Election. It were more for the service of the Commonwealth to examine what the powers of that Committee are, and to set a short time to its continuance, and not leave it indefinite as now it is. After more than an hours debate, the Speaker (instead of putting the question, whether an addition or no?) called to have the names read, first of the Lords, who were Voted, one, by one; and then the Commons were named, who are almost all Independents; *Weaver* excepted against the naming of Major Gen. *Brown* to be of that Committee, for being disaffected to the Army; to which Major Gen. *Brown* gave a discreet and honest Answer; in reply to which, *Weaver* concluded, That the Parliament in the posture it was in, was not likely to save the Kingdom, but the Committee of Safety and the Army must save it: whereupon satisfaction was demanded against *Weaver* for dishonouring the Parliament, and alleged that the Honour of the Parliament was more considerable than the Honour

nour of the Army, and ought to be vindicated before the Honour of the Army, whatſoever their Agents and Servants in the Houſe (who gained by them) thought to the contrary, unleſſe they would acknowledg the Parliament to be ſubordinate to the Army. It was farther ſaid, that if the Parliament ſhould relinquiſh the work of ſetling Peace, Religion, Laws, and Liberties in the Kingdome to the Committee of Safety, (as the Gentleman that ſpake laſt ſeems to intimate, that in order thereto, the ſaid Committee is enlarged) the Parliament ſhould forſake their truſt, and be no longer a Parliament, and all they had done, and ſhould doe in that way, (even the erecting, empowering, and enlarging of that Committee) is void in law. Note, that ſeveral Orders have been made, appointing ſet days to examine the powers of this Committee, and limit a time for its determination; but always upon the appointed days, either ſome Letters of news, or ſome new invented Plots have been caſt like ſtumbling blocks in the way to put it off.

The like for ſetling the general Militia of the Counties; all which are now left *ſine die*.

Thurday, 15. *June*, Mr. Solicitor reported to the Houſe, That Sir *William Maſham* and the reſt of the Committee, were carried up and down in the head of *Goring*'s Army, hardly uſed, and threatned to be in the front of the battel when they came to fight: and moved that 20. of the Kings party ſhould be ſeiſed, and ſent to the General to be uſed in the like manner. But *Gourdon* moved, That the Lady *Capell* and her Children, and the Lady *Norwich* might be ſent to to General with the ſame directions, ſaying, *their Husbands would be carefull of their ſafety*: and when divers oppoſed ſo barbarous a motion, and alleged, *the Lady* Capell *was great with child near her time*, *Gourdon* preſſed it the more eagerly, (as if he had taken the General for a Manmidwife) he was ſeconded by *Ven*, Sir *Hen. Mildmay*, *Tho. Scot*, *Blackſtone*, *Hill* of Haberdaſhers-hall, *Purefoy*, *Miles Corbet*, &c. Note that *Ruſhworth* (Secretary to the General) reported at the Commons Bar, *The Committee were well uſed and wanted nothing*. And though they have had many Fights and Sallies, they did never put any of the Committee in the Front; ſo that it ſhould ſeem this is only a fabulous pretence to carry 20. of the Kings

94. 20. Royaliſts ſent to the General in lieu of 10. Committeemen in *Colcheſter*.

party in *Front* before them to facilitate and secure their Approaches against the Enemies shot, which is the more credible, because the sense of the House was, *not to exchange these for the Committee.* This is to cheat the Enemy of a Town, not to conquer it. Behold the Saints way of getting Victories, and *Cromwell* practiseth the same in *Wales*, as I hear.

And that it may farther appear, this Saint-like Army neither Conquers by Miracle nor the Sword, but by the battery of Angels, I can assure you, that lately one of the setting-birches of these States (as they now call themselves in their foreign negotiations) the *Hogen mogens* of *Derby-house*, the Lady *Norton* (Wife to bul-headed Sir *Grig.*) offered a large sum of money to a Gentlewoman to procure her Husband to yield up a Hold he keepes for the KING, using this argument to perswade it, *That most of the good Townes they seemed to conquer, were purchased of men that had wit enough to respect themselves*, (for you must know that this virtuous Lady trucks as well for strong Townes and Forts, as for Plackets and other weaker pieces) but the motion was contemned; And the General having gotten together the Trained men of *Suffolk* and *Essex* to assist him, putteth them in the Forlorne Hope in all his stormings of the Town of *Colchester*, and drives them on with his Horse, using them as the Turk useth his *Asapi* to dead the first fury and edge of the Enemy, that his Janisaries may at last come on with the more safety, and carry the businesse.

95. The National Covenant.

Saturday, 17. *June.* It was moved that no Commissions might be granted to any Commanders or Officers, until they had taken the National Covenant: against which, it was argued, That the Covenant was become the pretence of all Rebellions and Insurrections; that most of them that had Rebelled in *Wales*, *Kent*, *Essex*, had taken it; but those that refused it were true friends to the Parliament, and had done them gallant service. That the Covenant had so many various interpretations put upon it, that no man knew what to make of it, or how with a safe Conscience to take it: thus argued the Independent, as if the Covenant were *malum in se.* To which was answered, that by this last reason they might lay aside the Scriptures, which were frequently and variously mis-interpreted by Hereticks and Shismaticks. If the Covenant

Covenant in its own nature were the cause of Insurrections, it was unwisely done of the Parliament to impose it upon men; and to tie them by Vow to defend it, and one another in defence of it, with their lives and fortunes, whatsoever number of Armed men should gather together in defence of the Kings Person, Crown and Dignity, or of Religion, Laws, Liberties, or of Privileges of Parliament, according to the said Covenant they have the authority of Parliament, nay of Heaven, (where their Vow is recorded) for what they do, and cannot be said to Rebell, or War against the Parliament, but against a Faction, who having deserted or never taken the Covenant, to carry on new designs for their own advantage; do now mis-apply the title of *Malignant* and *Rebell*, to those which fight for the Covenant, because they will not change their principles with them for Company. And upon this ground onely were the four Aldermen, seven Lords, Sir *John Maynard*, &c. impeached and imprisoned onely for such actions as the Covenant (which they took by authority of Parliament) bound them in conscience unto; and for which they had a special Ordinance of Parliament, made this very Sessions, and not to raise a new War as was scandalously and violently enforced upon them: Had it come to a new War, it must have been laid at their doores that subvert the Principles in the Covenant. Many have taken the Covenant in obedience to you, and are bound up by it; and now to leave other men at large not to take it, and accuse them of *Treason* for endeavouring to keep it, is very unjust. You have lately promised the Scots, *you will adhere to the Covenant:* How can they believe this, unless you enjoyn all to take it? And so long as you put all the Arms, Garrisons and ships of the Kingdom, and all places of power, profit and preferment, into the hands of Schismaticks and Antimonarchists, whose principles and actings run counter to the Covenant, and such as talk much of your service, but have done onely their own; in order to which, they refused to obey you and Disband, ravished the King from you at *Holdenby*, kept you in wardship ever-since, and dishonoured and brought you low with treasonable, scandalous, threatning Engagements, Declarations, Remonstrances, and other Papers: But those that would have had the Covenant current, could not get the question put.

96. *Osburn's* information concerning a design to murder the King. See [*The Independents loyalty*] a Book so called.

Upon Saturday, 17 *June* 1648, about one of the clock afternoon (most of the House being gone to dinner, and very few Presbyterians left) the Speaker of the House of Commons stood up and told the House, that he had received Letters from *Richard Osburn* (he that projected to deliver the King out of the custody of Colonel *Hammond* at *Carisbrook-Castle*) that he conceived the Letters tended only to the setting of us altogether by the Ears; and propounded, whether they should be read or no? some were against the reading of them, but the Major part called to have them read; which was done accordingly. The Letter to the said Speaker had a copy of another Letter enclosed in it, to the Lord *Wharton*, which bore date 1 *June*, 1648. to this purpose, *Giving his Lordship to understand, That upon private conference with Captain* ROLF (*a man very intimate with Colonel* Hammond, *and high in the esteem of the Army*) *the said Captain* Rolf *told him* (the said *Osburn*) *that to his knowledge* Hammond *had received several Letters from the Army, advising him to remove the* KING *out of the way by Poyson, or any other means, for it would much conduce to their affairs. But* (said *Rolf*) Hammond *had a good allowance for keeping the* KING, *and is therefore unwilling to lose so beneficial an imployment. But* (saith Rolf) *if you will joyn with me, we will endeavour to convey away the* KING *to some secret place, and we may then do what we will with Him. Osburn* offers in his said Letter, *That if he may come and go with safety, he would come and justifie the same upon Oath.* He likewise writ to the Speaker of the Lords House about it. Then was read *Osburn's* Letter to Mr. *Lenthall* Speaker, dated 10. *June* 1648. containing the same Narration, with an offer to appear, and make it good upon Oath if he might come and go with safety and freedom. The Clerk had no sooner done reading this Letter, but with a slight neglect, and the laughter of some Members, the business was passed over without debate, and Mr. *Scawen* stood up to propound a new business from the Army; when presently, Mr. *Walker* interrupting *Scawen*, desired to speak a word to the late business; and asked Mr. Speaker, *from whence that Letter came, and who brought it?* the Speaker called upon the Sergeant of the Mace, who Answered, *The Letter was given him at the door by a man that he knew not; that he had many Letters and*

Papers

Papers thrust upon him of which he could give no account, but he would endeavour to find the Messenger. Then Mr. *Walker* urged that *such an information coming to the House ought not to be neglected whether true or false, but to be examined and sifted to the bottom. If the* KING *should die a naturall death, or any mischance befall him, (the People calling to mind how little care we had taken of his safety) would never be satisfied with our protestation;* and moved, *that a Committee might be named to examine* Osburn, Rolf, Hammond, *and such others whose names should occur in the Examination.* This was seconded by Sir *Simond Dewes*, Mr. *Henry Hungerford*, Mr. *Edward Stevens*, and some others, who pressed it farther, but received a slight Answer. *That those that desired to examine the businesse knew not where to find* Osburn. *That* Osburn was a Malignant, *and had attempted to set the* KING *at liberty.* To which Mr. *Walker* replied, *That the other day we had named a Committee to examine the businesse concerning the Foot-boy that strook Sir* Henry Mildmay, *and yet we neither knew then where to find the Foot-boy, or what his name was. If we do but publish that* Osburn *shall with freedom and safety come and go, in case he appear to make good his Charge, either he will appear, or we shall declare him an Impostor, and punish him when we take him, and clear the reputation of those upon whom this Letter seems to reflect. Consider how vast a difference there is between beating a Subject, and Killing a King. And if* Osburn (*whom I know not*) *be a Malignant, yet unlesse you can prove him a Nullifidian, or a person convict of Perjury, both according to the Rules of Christian Charity, and in the charitable intendment of our Laws, his Oath is valid and good.* Then *Tho. Scot* stood up and said, *That this pressing for a Committee to examine this businesse, was but a device to draw Colonel* Hammond, *and* Rolf, *up to Town to be examined, that the* KING *might the easier make an escape.* And Sir *John Evelin* of *Wilts*, alleged *that he conceived this was an invention of* Osburns *to bring the King to Town with Honour, Freedom, and Safety.* Then *Walker* stood up again, but was interrupted by Master *Hill*, and not suffered to speak, having already spoken twice. At the end of almost every motion made for a Committee to examine the businesse, either Mr. *Scawen*, or Major General *Skippon* stood up and offered to divert the businesse by new matter concerning

cerning the Army, which usually beareth all other businesses down before it. At last those few that moved for an Examination of this Information, having spoken as often as the Orders of the House do permit, were forced to be silent; so the businesse was buried in silence. I hear that some of the Lords called upon this businesse the Monday following, being the 19 of *June*, and that the Lord *Wharton* being asked, *why he did not impart* Osburn's *said Letters to the House?* Answered, *That as soon as he opened the said Letter he received from* Osburn, *and saw his name at the bottom, he looked upon the businesse as not considerable:* yet he sent the Letter to *Hammond*. Upon Tuesday, 20 *June*, The Lords sent a Message to the Commons; the first paper whereof concerned *Osburns* said Letters: they desired *that forty days might be assigned for* Osburn *to come and goe with safety to make good his information*. But Sir *William Armine* stood up, and desired, *That the minutes of two Letters prepared to be sent into into* Holland *and* Zealand *concerning our Revolted ships might be first dispatched, as being of present use*. And when the businesse was ended, Mr. *Pierpointe* propounded another part of the said Message. So *Osburn's* Information was left *sine die* for that time, but since, the Lords have quickned it, and 40 days are given to *Osburn* to come and go with Freedom and Safety to make good his information; who is come, and avoucheth it; and one *Dowcett*, speaketh much in affirmation of a design of *Rolfes* to pistol the King. *Rolf* presents himself at the Commons Bar with a Letter from *Hammond*, which denies the Design, and pleads *Rolfes* cause for him. *Rolf* denied it at the Commons Bar with a trembling voice, yet afterwards hid out of the way; but being discovered upon search, he was found to have a Byle upon him, that disabled him from riding, otherwise (it is thought) he would have fled far enough. I do not hear that *Hammond* is yet sent for or questioned. And for *Oiburn's* indeavour to convey his Majestie from *Carisbrook-Castle*, it is alledged, he did it with a charitable intent to preserve his life, and not of any disaffection to the Parliament, to which he hath been affectionately serviceable. Though many take offence at Master *Walker*, as if his stirring of his businesse were onely to cast an aspersion upon the Army; yet (I conceive) that what he did was commendable, in discharge of the duty he owes

owes to God, his King, and Country, and of his trust as a Member of the Representative body of this Kingdom, and in performance of the obligations which the Oath of Allegiance, the Parliaments Protestation, the National Covenant, and the known Laws of the Land lay upon him, which duty he was bound to perform, (though with the extremest hazard of his life and fortunes) and though he may happily hope better things of this Army, yet since neither the Laws of the Land, nor common reason warrants him to presume upon his own private hopes and judgment (things which often deceive the wisest men in matters of far lesse moment) he could do no lesse than free his conscience, by making the whole House Witnesses of the cleernesse of his actions and intentions. Considering,

1. The many high speeches and threats often used against the King in all places, none excepted.

2. The dangers the King escaped from this very Army, which drove him from *Hampton-Court* to the *Isle* of *Weight*; and may possibly pursue him thither.

3. The Antimonarchical Principles wherewith many Members of this Army, and their Chaplains, and many elsewhere are seasoned, who cannot govern this Kingdome at their pleasure by a military Olygarchy of Grandees of the Committee of Safety at *Derby-house* and the Army (and so establish the Kingdom of the Saints) nor yet bring it to their own *levell*, but by taking off *summa papaverum capita*, all that is high and eminent. There is a Crowned Head in their way which must be removed.

4. The corrupted fantasies of many Antimonarchical Schismaticks with Revelations and Raptures, who serve the Devil for Gods sake; making him the Author, and the doing of his will the pretence of all their crimes and villanies.

5. The many desperate guilty persons that fear peace; and are resolved, now the Sword is out, to burn the Scabbard. These look upon the King with an evil eye, as the Centre in whom all Interests must unite before we can have Peace. Despair tempts these men to make one sin a degree and step to a higher. These three last sort of men having cast off all fear of God, will as easily contemn Gods substitute, the King; as he that casts off all reverence to the King will contemn his substitute, a Constable.

6. The

6. The continual endeavours of the Grandees of *Derby-house* and the Army, to put all the Armes, Garrisons, Ships, and Strengths of the Kingdom into the hands of Antimonarchical, Schismatical Independents: in order to which, they are raising of new Forces, and erecting new Garrisons in most Counties. These men when they could not get a power from the House of Commons to raise what Forces they pleased, (for when it was moved, they there ordered, *that no more motions should be made for raising new Forces, but between the hours of ten and twelve*) yet what they could not get by their leave, they now take without their leave: the General granting Commissions for raising and listing Horse and Foot in almost all Counties; for example, Sir *Hardresse Waller* (that one eyed *Polyphemus* of Pastebord) lately sent forth Commissions in the County of *Devon:* (by virtue (as his Commissions say) of the power granted him from his Excellency) for raising, listing, and training Horse and Foot, which shall be no burden to the Country, but be in pay with the rest of the army. In these Commissions he stileth himself *(untruly) Commander in cheif of all the forces of the five Western Associat Counties*: and gave authority and encouragement to the well affected (that is, to Independents, Sectaries, Antimonarchists, and the more desperate, forlorn sort of people) to enter into, and subscribe Engagements, *to live and die with the Army* (an imitation of the Members Engagement) *in defence of the Parliament*, (that is, of the ingaged faction of Independents, Schismaticks, and corrupt persons, whom only the Army looks upon as the Parliament) witnesse the Declaration of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and his Council of War, shewing the grounds of his advancing up to *London*. This usurpation was complained of in the House of Commons, Monday 19. *June*, and prohibited then by Order.

7. Peradventure the reason why this Letter was published so unseasonably in a thin House, in so slight and surreptitious a way (as aforesaid) was, in hope it would have been passed over in silence (as it had like to have been) and so the whole House should have been engaged in the crime (if any such thing be intended) as *guilty of connivance and negligence*, though *not as Actors guilty of the fact*. The main scope of this party hath ever been, *by Treaties of Accommodation, uniting all Interests*, and other devices, to involve

volve others in their crimes, to infect others with their diſeaſes; that all ſtanding in need of one and the ſame deſperate way of cure, may joyntly have the ſame friends and foes, and the ſame ſins and quarrels to defend.

8. Friday, 16 *June* 1648. I was told, the Committee of *Derby houſe* had lately received a Letter from Col. *Hammond*, Governour of *Carisbrook* Caſtle, informing them, *That unleſſe they ſupplied him with Mony and Men, he could give no good account of the King, in caſe the Revolted ſhips ſhould attempt his reſcue:* and farther, *That he had matters of great importance to communicate to them, but durſt not commit them to Paper; but if they would ſend for him up, or ſend a Confident of theirs to him, he would impart them.* This may probably be the buſineſſe whereof *Osburne* gives information in his ſaid Letters; and it may be Mr. *Walker* had heard of this report in the Hall, as well as my ſelf, and might have the ſame conceit of it, that I have; if it be lawfull for me to take meaſure of another mans judgement by my own.

9. Laſtly, who knows whether a powerfull deſperate party, may have a deſign to take away the *Kings life*, and then declare his two eldeſt Sons uncapable of Government; ſuppoſing they deſerted the Kingdom, and invited forreign States to invade it: and then Crown the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and ſo (abuſing his tender years) uſurp the protection of him, and under colour of that authority, eſtabliſh (by degrees) their own uſurpation, and the peoples ſlavery; having ſubdued their ſpirits by a long and cuſtomary bondage, under them; and having filled all places of power, profit and preferment in the Kingdom with men of their own principles and Intereſts, their own creatures and Confidents? This Army (laſt *April*) in their Council (amongſt other things) debated, *The Depoſing of the KING*, (why not murdering as well, ſince few Kings are depoſed and not murdered?) *Diſ-inheriting the PRINCE, and Crowning the DUKE of YORK:* which was then approved of by *Cromwell* and *Ireton*. Why may they not now diſ-inherit both the elder Sons, and Crown the Duke of *Glouceſter* as well? See the excellent *Remonſtrance* of the *Colcheſter* Knights and Gentlemen, 1648. which I have Printed herewith for your ſatisfaction. That ſome ſuch deſign might be to make away the *KING*, and diſ-inherit the *PRINCE*,

may well be ſuſpected; becauſe the 12. day of *July*, upon information, *That the Prince had ſent into* England *ſome Blank Commiſſions to Liſt men*: *Weaver* (an Implement of the Army, and Son to an Ale-houſe-keeper in *Wiltſh.*) moved the Houſe of Commons *to Vote the Prince a Traytor, &c.* And (I hear) that Mr. Solicitor (contrary to his Oath and duty of his place) *refuſeth to be of Counſel againſt the ſaid* Rolf; this Gentleman the Solicitor hath got above 300000l. by keeping open ſhop to ſell the cruell mercies of the new Great Seal to the Royaliſts.

97. *Trinity-houſe* Petition for a Perſonal Treaty.

The 29. *June.* A Petition was delivered the Houſe of Commons from the Maſters of *Trinity-houſe*, Maſters and Captains of Ships and Sea-men, *for a Perſonal Treaty with the* KING; *declaring the great decay of trade, to the undoing of many thouſand families, and that they would not fight againſt the revolted ſhips, their Brethren, who deſired but the ſame things with them.* Tho. Scot ſaid, *That the* Surrey-men *firſt delivered a Petition for a Perſonal Treaty, which was ſeconded by the* Kentiſh-men *in Armes, and they by the City of* London,: *that all this was a deſign to ruine the Godly party. That he had read of a Man, who being asked when he was young, Why he did not marry? Anſwered, It was too ſoon: and being asked the ſame queſtion when he was old, Anſwered, it was too late. So he was of opinion there could be no time ſeaſonable for a perſonal Treaty, or a Peace with ſo perfidious and implacable a Prince; but it would always be too ſoon or too late. He that draws his ſword upon his King muſt throw his Scabbard into the fire. All peace with him will prove the ſpoil of the Godly.* To which was Anſwered, *That ſome men got well by fiſhing in troubled waters; and accounted peace their ſpoil; becauſe war was their gain: and they looked upon a Perſonal Treaty as a deſign againſt them* (under the notion of the Godly, Honeſt, Conſiding party) *becauſe a Perſonal Treaty was the high way to peace. But the generality of the people* (who were deſpoyled of their Eſtates by the War) *reſolved upon a Perſonal Treaty, without which there is no hope of Peace: they would no longer be made fuel to that fire wherein theſe Salamanders live; nor any longer feed thoſe Horſe-leeches,* (the Army, their engaged party and Servants) *with their blood and marrow.* It now appears who deſire a new War; namely, thoſe Zealots who ſupply their indigent fortunes by War. Theſe men fear peace, doubting they

ſhall;

ſhall be forced to diſgorge what they have ſwallowed in time of War: *Ven*, *Miles Corbet*, *Hill* the petty Lawyer of Haberdaſhers hall, the two *Aſhes*, Col. *Harvy*, and many other thriving Saints, oppoſed a Perſonal Treaty; ſo their Petition had no ſucceſſe. I hear that (not many days after) the Committee of *Derby houſe* (to take off this affront) imployed Col. *Rainsborough* (the *quondam Neptune* of our Seas) to go up and down and ſolicit the Common ſort of Marriners to ſubſcribe, and preſent the Houſe of Commons with a counter Petition, wherein *they offered to live and die with the Parliament*, *&c.* and that *Rainsborough* gave 12d. a piece to as many as ſubſcribed it. This Petition was delivered.

The 2 of *July*, and after that (upon occaſion of the City Petition *for a Perſonal Treaty in* London) upon the 5 of *July*, the Houſe of Commons again took into debate a *Perſonal Treaty*. They ſpent much time upon the place where? 98. The City Petitions for a perſonal Treaty.

1. *Whether in the* Iſle of Wight? which the Independents principally affected.

2. *Holdenby?* which they next inclined unto.

3. *Or any his Houſes not nearer than* 10 *miles of* London: *at his own choice.*

4. *Or in the City of* London?

Which two laſt places the Presbyterians approved of, but chiefly *London*: for *London*, it was argued, *That the Common Councel and Officers of the Souldiery would undertake for His ſafety againſt all Tumults. In any other place he would be within the power of the Army*; *who might probably take him away again* (*as they did at* Holdenby) *if they liked not the manner and matter of the Treaty.* London *was a place of moſt Honor, Safety, and Freedom*; *and would beſt ſatisfie the* KING, *the* Scots, *the people*: *In all other places* (*eſpecially* the Iſle of *Wight*) *He would be ſtill a priſoner to the Army*; *and therefore all he ſhould agree to, would be void by reaſon of* Dures. Sergeant *Wylde* Anſwered, *That* Cuſtodia did not *always in Law ſignifie* Impriſonment; *Though He was under reſtraint of the Army. He was not in Priſon*; making a wyld kind of (nonſenſe) difference between *Reſtraint* and *Legal Impriſonment*, (which all but himſelf laughed at:) *The King cannot plead* Dures; *no man can impriſon or hurt the King in his politick capacity as King, though in his natural capacity, as man, he is as*

passive as other men. To which was replyed, That it had been frequently said in the House, the King was a prisoner. That there was no difference in Law, between a restraint and an imprisonment, whether legal, or illegal. A tortious restraint is called in Law, a false Imprisonment. That former Kings have avoided their own Acts by pleading Restraint (or Imprisonment) and Constraint, as R. 2. H. 3. That the King may as well plead Imprisonment, as the Parliament plead a Force, which they have lately done. That the Kings Restraint in Law is *Arcta custodia*, God grant it be *salva custodia*; we have lately had Information to the contrary. The distinction between the Kings *natural* and *politique capacity* was Treason in the *Spencers*, and so declared by 2 Acts of Parliament in the time of *Edw.* 2. and *Edw.* 3. See *Calvins* case in my Lord *Cook*, they are unseparable by the Law. *Tho. Scot* argued, That the City was as obnoxious to the Kings anger as any part of the Kingdom; and if the Treaty should be in London, who shall secure us that the City will not make their Peace with the inraged King, by delivering up our Heads to Him for a sacrifice, as the men of Samaria did the heads of the 70 sons of Ahab? It was farther moved, That if the King came not to London, but to one of his houses about 10 miles from London, That He might be desired to give His Royal word to reside there untill the Conclusion of the Treaty. Col. *Harvy* slighted this motion, vilifying the Kings Royal word, and saying, There was no trust in Princes; he alleged, the Kings promises had been frequently broken; as when he protested the safety and privileges of Parliament should be as precious to Him, as the safety of His Wife and Children, and within three or four dayes after came with armed Guards to force the House, and other instances which have been too often remembred, and shall be here omitted.

At last they fell upon a report, that the Committee of Lords and Commons had Voted, They would not insist upon the 3 Votes preparatory to a Treaty, viz. Presbytery, the Militia, and recalling all Declar. Procla. &c. This was long argued to and fro. At last it was Voted, That the King be desired to assent to the said 3 preparatory Propositions, and sign them with his hand, to be passed as acts of Parliament when the King shall come to Westminster.

99. My Lord *Say's* discourse about a Personal Treaty.

My Lord of *Warwick* had moved in the Lords House about this time for a Personal Treaty, and was seconded by the Earl of *Northumberland*;

Northumberland; but my Lord *Say* opposed it, and prevailed against it: afterwards my Lord *Say* in his way home visited the Duke of *Richmond*, and amongst other discourse, told the Duke, *He was sorry to find so great an indisposition to peace*, saying, *he had moved for a Personal Treaty, but could not prevail*; this was done upon hopes the Duke would have writ so much to the Queen, or Prince. But the Earl of *Holland* coming that day to see the Duke, and the Duke relating to the Earl what the Lord *Say* had told him, the Earl of *Holland* discovered the truth to him, and so spoiled the design: you see the Devil doth not always own the endeavours of his servants.

100. The news of the D. of *Buck.* taking Arms.

The said 5 *July*, the Speaker, as soon as he sate in his Chair, alarmed the house of Commons with the news of the Duke of *Buckingham's*, and the Earl of *Holland's* drawing into an hostile posture; relating *they were* 2000. *that they intended to take* Lambeth-house, *that the Bullets would presently be about their ears if they did not rise*; which put the zealots into such a rout, that they presently cried, *Adjourn, adjourn, until Monday*; and had hardly so much patience as to hear any reasons to the contrary; but this was but a counterfeit fear: the design hid under it was, to prevent the City from bringing in that day their Petition *for a Personal Treaty*, and to leave the whole power of the House, during the Adjournment, to the Committee of *Derby house*, to raise what Horse and Foot they pleased, under colour of suppressing this Insurrection.

101. *Skippon* authorized to raise 1000 Horse.

For when they found they could not prevail to Adjourn, they moved for power to be given to Maj. Gen. *Skippon* to raise Horse, whether to possess the Avenues and passages from the City to the Earl of *Hollands* Army, or to keep the City under the terror of a Horse Guard, is doubtfull.

102. A Report from *Derby house* that the Members should underwrite for maintaining of Horse.

And the same day Mr. *Swynfin* reported from the Committee of Safety, *That they offered to the Consideration of that House, that it was fit the House should have a Horse Guard, and that every Member should underwrite how many Horse he will pay for* 10 *days.*

This is refused by some Gentlemen upon these grounds:

1. *It bears the aspect of an Imposition or Tax set upon the House by their Committee.*

2. *The Members have not suffered alike; and therefore cannot do*

do alike, some have lost much and got nothing, others have got much and lost nothing: and it is not equal that Losers should bear equall burthens with Getters, and contribute out of their Losses to maintain other mens Gains, and preserve them in their rich Offices, and Bishops Lands purchased for little or nothing. Gentlemen are made Beggers, and Beggers Gentlemen.

3. *It is a dividing motion: tending to lay an imputation of Malignancy and dis-affection upon those that cannot, as well as those that will not, subscribe: and so gives a great advantage to the Gainers over the Losers,* which the Losers have no reason to submit to.

4. *A Personal Treaty being now in debate: this motion makes many Members forbear the House, who cannot grant, and dare not deny: It carries with it therefore something of design and terror, and so takes away the liberty of Parliament, which when so weighty a business is handling is ought to be.*

If this Horse Guard be raised, how shall we assure our selves they shall be Disbanded after ten days, being once under Command? It is therefore a subtile, malicious, tyrannous act, for the Committee of Safety to put so tempting a motion upon the House, and give men cause to suspect that something of Design and Danger lies hid under it.

103. The device of a forged letter, two parts.

About this time a Letter without any name subscribed, was left at Major General *Brown's* house, in his absence: consisting of

1. *A Preamble, of great respect and love born to him by the Epistoler for his fair carriage to the King, and good affection to peace, and reconcilement with the King.*

2. *An Admonition to look to himself, and moderate his Actions, the Army looking upon him as their onely Enemy, and Opponent in the City, lest they should seize upon him and carry him away, or do him some other mischief.* This is conceived to be an Independent mouse-trap set up to catch a Presbyterian in; for if the Major General had not discovered the said Letter, and it had been found about him, or in his House; or if it had been testified that such a Letter was left at his house and concealed: here had been matter enough for an Impeachment against him.

104. Correspondency with *Card. Mazerini.*

The Grandees of *Derby house* and the Army solicit the detaining of the PRINCE in *France*, and the delaying of his journey

journey for *England*, leſt he trouble the yet unſetled Kingdom of the Saints. To negotiate which, they have an Agent lying Lieger with Cardinal *Mazarini* (the great French inſtrument of State) who is ſo well ſupplied with Money, and ſo open handed, That it hath been heard from *Mazarin's* own mouth, *That all the money the Queen and Prince hath coſt the Crown of* France, *hath come out of the Parliament Purſe with a good advantage.* It is likewiſe ſaid, *Mazarini hath an Agent here, to drive on the Intereſts of* France *in* England.

105. *Doleman's* Antimonarchical Book printed.

The Grandees in reference to the pulling down of Monarchy, and the eſtabliſhing of their Olygarchy or Tyranny (contrary to their Remonſtrances, Declarations, the National Covenant, and their late Vote, *That they would not alter the ancient form of Government by King, Lords, and Commons*) have cauſed the Book written by *Parſons* the Jeſuit, 1524 (under the feigned Name of *Doleman*) and called [*A Conference about the ſucceſſion of the Crown*] to be publiſhed, under the Title of [*Several Speeches delivered at a Conference, concerning the power of Parliaments, to proceed againſt their Kings for miſ-government.*] *Parſons* had made this Book a *Dialogue*, theſe Men have made it into *Speeches*. The Arguments and Preſidents are meerly the ſame; you ſee they can joyn Intereſts with *France:* Doctrine with the Jeſuits, to carry on their deſign, and reduce us to the condition of French Peaſants or Slaves, under the Kingdom of the Saints. *Doleman's* Book was condemned by Act of Parliament, 35 *Eliz.* But what care the Grandees for Acts of Parliament, having fooled the people into a belief, That both the *Legiſlative* and *Judicative* power is in the two Houſes of Parliament without the King, and that an *over-powering party or Junto in the two Houſes* (complying with an Army to keep the reſt under force and awe) *is the Parliament.*

See the Concluſions, 15, 16, 17.

106. The Legiſlative, Judicative power, and the Militia, where they reſide.

The Parliament conſiſteth of 3 *Eſtates.*

1. The *King*, whom the Law calleth, *Principium, Caput & finis Parliamenti*: and therefore he only can *Call*, He only can *Diſſolve* a Parliament, and is himſelf called and choſen by none, being *primus motor*, that animates all.

2. The *Lords*: who have their creation and vocation only from the Kings bounty.

See the Concluſions, 15, 16, 17.

3. The

3. The *Commons*, who have their *summons* onely from the Kings Writ, though their *election* from the people; and in that respect only (the people being too diffused a Body to be Assembled) they have something of *Representation* in them, being the Epitome of the People. These 3 *Estates* concurring, have power to *make new Laws, to change or repeal old Lawes*, and in some *doubtfull cases rarely happning* (which the Judges dare not venture upon) they have power to *interpret the Laws*. This is a wise and politick constitution, for *if any one, or any two of the said three Estates* should make new Laws, Change, Repeal or Interpret old Laws, arbitrarily and at pleasure, *without mutual agreement of all the three Estates*, it were in the power of *that one or two to enslave the other Estate or Estates so omitted*. Besides, the Law doth not favour the making of new Laws, nor the changing and repealing of old Laws, being an innovation that stirs too many humors in a body politick, and indangers its health, and brings contempt upon the Laws: *Leges prius quam late sunt perpendenda, quando late, sunt obedienda*, saith *Arist. Pol.* But though all 3 *Estates must assent to the making, altering or repealing a Law, yet any one of the* 3 *Estates hath a Negative Voice*, and may dissent from such making, altering or repealing, to avoid innovation, as aboveſaid. How then can the two Houses of Parliament exercise the Legislative power, and make, change or repeal any Law by Ordinance, without the King, (the first Estate and head of the Parliament) and so deprive Him of His Negative Voice, and the people of their Laws, liberties, and Estates, contrary to 9 *H.* 3. *Magna Charta*, 1 *part. Instit. fol.* 234. *in fine.* 7. *H.* 7. 14. especially when this very Parliament declares in the *Exact Col.* 1 *part. p.* 727. *That the King hath a Negative Voice, and that Bils are not Laws* (or Acts of Parliament) *without the Kings assent* (consequently nor Ordinances.) And as the two Houses take upon them the *Legislative power* without the King, so in the case of the 4 Aldermen and Sir *John Maynard*, they usurped a *Judicative Power* in case of Treason tryable in the Kings Bench: yet it is most certain, that when the 3 *Estates in Parliament have passed any Act, their power determines as to that Act, and then the Authority of the Judges begins*, which is Judicative; whose Office is (upon cases brought before them) to determine *whether that Act be binding or no*; (for

2 H. 5. 4. H. 7. c. 18. 11. H. 7. c. 20. 1 Ja. c. 1. 2 Ch. c. 1.

Acts

Acts of Parliament *against common right, Repugnant, or Impossible*, are Void (*Cook* 8. *f.* 118. Dr. and Student, *l.* 1. *c.* 6.) *and to expound the meaning, and signification of the words of such Act.* If therefore the 2. Houses usurp the *Legislative* and *Judicative* power, or the *Militia*, otherwise than hath been by the fundamental constitution of this Monarchy, and the practice of all ages accustomed, the Grandees of the two Houses and Army seem to lay claim to them all by the Sword, for in the late Declaration against the *Scots* Papers, *p.* 64. they say, *That they engaged in this war upon these principles*, viz. *To keep the Legislative power, and the exercise of the Militia, without and against the Kings consent* and *p.* 63. *ibidem*, the Members tell us, *that in all matters concerning Church or State, we have no judge upon Earth but themselves.* It follows then, the Grandees do it to subvert the ancient Government, Laws and Liberties of this Nation; and establish a Military Olygarchy, or the Kingdom of the Saints over us in themselves. In order to which design they have put all things out of order, and turned them upside down; nay, they have crucified the whole Kingdom with Saint *Peters* Crucifixion, the head downwards, and the Heels upwards.

When this King went into *Scotland*, He compared the Common-wealth to a Watch, which they had taken in pieces; and advised them to keep every piece and pin safe, and put all in their right places again; but now all the principal pieces are either broken, or lost. God grant them to number their houres better hereafter, and to cloze well with our Master Work-man; for though this Kingdom hath alwaies been *Ruled by King, Lords, and Commons*; yet by the KING, *architectonice*; and by the *other* Two, *organice*; the King as the Architect, the Lords and Commons as His Instruments; each in his proper sphere of Activity, without interfering: and till this again come in use, look for no peace.

107. The Armies Aspect upon the City and personal Treaty.

The Independent Grandees of the Parliament and Army are much offended with the City, and their adherents, in Petitioning for a Personal Treaty with the King, and give out, *That when they have done with* Colchester, *they will humble the City, and bring it to better obedience*, for which purpose, they have already taken all the *Block-houses*, upon the River East of the City, *Windsor-Castle* West of the City, and are now fortifying *Gyddy-hall* neer

Romford in *Essex* South from the City; the like they intend at *Hampton Court*; and to build a Fort upon the *Isle of Dogs*, to keep under the Sea-men: whereby, possessing the principall ways, and Avenues to the City, they shall neither feed, nor Trade, but at the discretion of the Army. In the mean time the Cities desires of a Personal Treaty are delayed and made frustrate by a tedious Conference between a Committee of Parliament, and a Committee of Common-Council. And Counter-Petitions against a Personal Treaty are sent about by Alderman *Gybs*, *Foukes*, *Eswicke*, *Wollaston*, *Andrewes*, *Nye* the Independent Priest, and others, (who hold rich Offices by favour of the Grandees) to be subscribed even by Apprentice Boyes; whereby it appears the Independents have no intent, to make peace with the King, but to engage in a new War, thereby to continue their Army, and our Slavery.

The yearly Income they raise upon the people under colour of this War, (besides the Kings Revenue, Sequestrations, and Compositions) amounts to three Millions sterling *per annum*, being six times as much as ever the most greedy and burdensom of our Kings raised: where our Stewards hide these our Talents (publick Debts and Arrears being unpaid) were worth finding out, if any but the Devil could give an Account thereof. But this is an unfoundable Gulf, here my plumb-line faileth me.

208. Major Gen. *Skippon's* complaint.

The 10. of *July*, Major General *Skippon* complained in the House of Commons of a printed Paper, called, [*A Motive to all loyal Subjects, to endeavour the preservation of his Majesties Person*] wherein (he pretended) he was falsly and scandalously slandered for speaking some words in the House to divert the Examination of Mr. *Osbornes* Charge against *Rolf*. The House (that is, the Independents) were as diligent to become his Compurgators, and vindicate his credit, by passing and Printing 3. Votes for him, as they had formerly been to ruine the *KING'S* Honour by passing a Declaration against Him. This fellow *Skippon* was heretofore Waggoner in the Low-Countries to Sir *Francis Vere*, after that came over into *England* a poor forlorn Commander, and obtained of the King his Letters of Commendation to keep a kinde of Fencing School in the City Military yard, and teach the Citizens the postures of the Pike and Musket, and Train them; where he wore the mask of Religion so handsomly, that he soon

insinuated

insinuated into their favours, and found them very bountifull Patrons to him; there he got his fat belly, and full purse; from the City he became Major Generall to the new-modelled Army: and observing some discontents arising between the City and Army, and being willing to keep two strings to his bow, that he might uphold his credit with the City, he voluntarily submitted himself to some affronts, purposely and politickly put upon him in the Army; and yet that the Army might understand him to be their creature, he marched with the Army in their Triumph through the City, still carrying himself as a moderate reconciling man, and sweetning the insolencies of the Army, by making milde and fair interpretations of their Actions; yet still so much magnified the power of the Army, as if he would perswade the City they were beholding to the Army, for making no worse use of their strength against them: Thus (as many other moderate, prudential men do) he lay a good while undescried in the bosome of the City, and there as a Spie and Intelligencer kept Centry for the Army, untill such time as the City petitioning the Commons for *restoring of their own Militia to them again*, the Council of the Army, (to mock them with an ineffectuall *Militia*) by their engaged party in the House, and the Committee of *Derby-house* (of which Cabal *Skippon* is one) caused their confiding man *Skippon*, not only to be named of the Committee of the *Militia* (although no Citizen) but to be obtruded upon the City as their *Major General, Commander in Chief of all their Forces*, without whom nothing is to be acted. This being resented and opposed, as contrary to the Cities Charter and Liberties, *Skippon* found he was discovered, and then (taking advantage of the Earle of *Holland's* going forth into Arms) upon a Report from the Committee of *Derby-house*, the Commons ordered, *that a Party of Horse should be raised and listed under Skippon*: *Skippon* by vertue of this Order granted Commissions to divers schismaticall Apprentices to raise men underhand, and authorized the said Commissioned Apprentices to grant Sub-commmissions again to other Apprentices under them for the like purpose: This was pretended to prevent Tumults and Insurrections, but indeed it was to joyne with the Independent party of the City, and the army, (when they have done their work at *Colchester*) in purging the Presbyterians out of the Common-Council and Parliament; in

reference whereto, the Army have resolved not to march Northwards against the *Scots*, untill they have brought this City to more absolute obedience, or laid it in the dust, according to *Cromwel's* advice; as a preparative to which design, the prevailing party in the House, *July* 15. (hand over head) Voted, *All such* Scots *as are come into* England *in hostile manner, without consent of both Houses of Parliament of* England, *Enemies to the State; and all such* English *as do or shall adhere to, aid, or assist them Traitors:* and the next day following, *Weaver* openly in the House affirmed, *that the* Scottish *design of D.* Hamilton, *the* Colchester *design, and that of the Earl of* Holland, *were all begun and carried on in the City of* London: to which *Ven*, the two *Ashes*, *Harvy*, *Scot*, *Miles Corbet*, *Blackstone*, Sir *Peter Wentworth*, and others gave applause: loe here a foundation laid for a new Charge against the City, when the Army are at leasure to make use of it. This Hypocrite *Skippon*, when he had spoken any thing in the House prejudicial to the King or City, about a Week after (when the venom he hath spet hath wrought its effect, and is past remedy) usually complains in the House, *that his words are carried forth of the House, and maliciously and falsly reported in the City to his disgrace and danger*, and repeating in a more mild and qualified way some part of what he had formerly said, appealed to the House, *whether that were not the full truth of his words?* When the House, having forgotten his former words, no man can, and (for fear of the envy and malice of a powerfull Faction) no man will contradict him; this is his way of Apologizing and clearing himself. He hath got above 300001. in his purse, besides 10001. a year land of Inheritance given him by the Parliament. He hath secured his personal Estate beyond Sea, and his Wife and Children, and thereby withdrawn all pawns and pledges of his Fidelity both out of the power of the Parliament and City, and is here amongst us but in the nature of a *souldier of fortune*.

Yet they knew they came in by Authority of the Parl. of *Scotland*.

106. D. Hamiltons Army Voted Enemies.

Note, that upon the said 15 day of *July*, when the debate was *for Voting the* Scots *that were come in, Enemies, &c.* the first question was put, *that all such* Scots *as are, or shall come into* England, *in hostile manner, without consent of both Houses of the Parliament of* England, *were Enemies, &c.* but upon farther debate, the words (*or shall*) were left out, upon this Consideration, *that the Earl of* Argyle *might happily come into* England *with a Party, and fall upon*

upon Duke Hamilton *in the rear to divert him.*

110. D. *Hamilton's* Letter and Decaration brought to the House.

July the 10. The Speaker told the Commons, *that Major General* Lambert *had made Hay of a Scottish Gentleman, one Mr.* Haly-barton *who passed through his quarters with Letters from* D. Hamilton, *to the two Houses, and the King; that he found about Mr.* Haly-barton *divers private Letters, for the carrying of which, he had publick Authority, and therefore* Lambert *made bold to seal those private Letters in a packet by themselves with his own seal and Mr.* Haly-barton's: *That* Lambert *had sent up Mr.* Haly-barton *with one Lieut. Col.* Osburn, *a Godly Scottish Gent. and another Keeper, in nature of a Prisoner.* This *Osburn* delivered that private packet to the Speaker; so a Committee was named to peruse that private packet, and *Osburn* was called into speak what he knew; who delivered at the Bar, *that the Godly party in* Scotland *were oppressed and trodden under foot by Duke* Hamilton's *party, that their very souls were afflicted at his proceedings, that the Kirk of* Scotland *with one mouth proclaimed in their faces their engagement and proceeding thereupon to be damnable and destructive: he desired the House not to look upon these proceedings as the Act of the Nation of* Scotland, *since there were a great many Godly men who hoped the Lord would enable them in his good time to march into* England *with the Marquesse of* Argyle *and fall into the rear of Duke* Hamilton *with a diversion.* He reported, *the* Scots *that came in to be but* 8000 *Horse and Foot, and* Langedale *but* 2000. Then was read the Letters of D. *Hamilton*, wherein *He complaineth no answer had been given to the Parliament of* Scotland's *last desires of the* 26 April *last, that by authority of the Scottish Parliament he was necessitated to come into* England *according to the Covenant, and not without the invitation of divers well-affected English who had taken the Covenant.* There was a Declaration inclosed in the Letters, which the prevailing party obstructed the reading of (yet the Lords having printed it, they have since read it in the House) and presently the question was put, *that all such English as have invited the* Scots *under* D. Hamilton, *to come in hostile manner into* England, *shall be declared Traytors!* and carried in the Affirmative. I formerly told you, that about 12 *July*, *Weaver* moved, *that the Prince of Wales might be Voted a Traitor*: what they could not then carry with a fore-wind, they now brought in again with a side wind; but who doubts but the Prince invited in

111. L. Col. *Osburn* a fugitive Scot.

the

the Scots to the relief of his Father and himself oppressed and imprisoned, contrary to the Solemn League and Covenant, by a Rebellious Army, and a schismatical party of both Houses engaged with the said Army: *And that the Scots are come in according to the Covenant only?*

112. A motion in the House of Commons to Bayl *Rolf.*

A little before this time *Tho. Scot*, Sir *P. Wentworth*, *Blackstone*, C. *Harvy*, *Hill* the Lawyer, and others pressed the House with much earnestness to *Bayl* Rolf, *committed Prisoner to the* Gate-house *upon the Complaint of Mr.* Osburn *for endeavouring to make away the* KING: using many words in his commendation for *his godliness and faithfulness*, and complaining of *his hard usage in Prison* where he lay amongst *Regnes*. It was opposed by many, because *High Treason is not baylable by the Law*, neither *is the House of Commons a Court of Judicature*; and therefore can *neither Imprison, nor Bayle any* but their own *Members*. At last Mr. *Sam. Brown* moved, *that a Committee might examine the business for matter of Fact, and report to the House, and then the House (if they saw cause) might Bayle him; and bind over Master* Osburn *to prosecute him next term in the* Kings-bench. This motion took effect, and great care was taken for the present, that *Rolf* might have better entertainment in the *Gate-house* according to his quality; having been not long since a Shoo-maker, one of the *Gentle-craft*.

113. The Speakers Warrant to search for the Foot-boy that beat Sir *Hen. Mildmay.*

About this time, 2 Files of Musketiers, by warrant from the Speaker of the House of Commons, came in the dead time of the night to the Houses of Sir *Paul Pynder*, and Alderman *Langham*, pretending to search for the Foot-boy that beat Sir *H. Mildmay*. They forced open the doors of Sir *Pauls* house, and searched with great diligence; but could not do the like at Alderman *Langham's*, who being guilty of having some Money in his House, durst not adventure to obey the Warrant and open his doors; nor had he reason to do it, his House (by the Law) being *his Castle of Defence, the privilege thereof not to be violated but in case of Felony or treason*. Compare the diligent prosecutions in the behalf of Sir *Harry Mildmay*, with the slack and negligent proceedings in the behalf of the King, and you will find a new practical Law (contrary to the old known established Law) *that a trespasse against a Grandee* (though but a Subject) *is more than a treason against a King*.

Fears,

Fears and Iealousies arising from several Informations (as that of *Croply* and *Hyde*, called, *The Resolutions of the Army*) and diverse other Symptomes of danger, but especially *Skippons* secret Listing of Schismatiques in the City amongst the Congregations of Mr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Patience*, and others, with power given him to kill and slay; his listing servants against their Masters, and setting up a Power against a Power, had provoked that dull beast *the City* to know their own strength, to look into their Charter and the Customes of the City, and to Counter-list in their own defence: for which purpose, they passed an Act of Common Council, dated 27. *July* 1648. which was soon complained of in the House of Commons by *Ven*, *Harvey*, *Pennington*, and other ill Birds of that Corporation, who usually defile their own nests, after many aggravations; that after they had fought with the King for the *Militia*, any power out of the Parliament should presume to exercise it: a Committee was appointed to Treate with a Committee of the Common-Council, *to hear what they could say for themselves, and by what authority they claimed the use of their own Militia.* The Committees met, and amongst other things the said question was asked, *By what authority they listed men?* To which was answered, *That they did it by the Law of Self-defence, warranted by the Law of God, of nature, and of the Land*: and by a farther Authority, to question which, would make little for the advantage of the Parliament: This mysterious Answer stopped the mouthes of the Parliament Committee. If *London* should plead their Charter and usages, other places might doe the like; so this businesse was shut up in silence. Note that many Sectaries of *Westminster*, *Southwark*, and the *Hamlets* have been invited and countenanced to petition the House of Commons *against uniting their Militia's with* London, *upon pretended cavils*: As that they desired to have equal number of Voices in the *Militia* with *London*: But since *London* beareth 7. parts of 9. in the charge, it is an unreasonable demand.

114. Fears and jealousies cause the City to resume the power of their own Militia.

115. By Orders (as is thought) from *Derby-house*, Colonel *Jones* Governour of *Dublyn*, hath seized upon most of the Presbyterian Commanders thereabouts, and sent them Prisoners to *Westchester*, as Sir *Maurice Eustace*, Sir *John Gyford*, Col. *Willoughby*, Colonel *Flower*, Major *Stephens*, Major *Capron*, *&c.* to make room for Independent Officers in his Army, *that the Saints only may possesse the*

115. The Governor of Dublyn seizeth and sendeth over Prisoners the Presbyterian Commanders.

the good things of this world; but chiefly, that his Army being Commanded by Antimonarchical Schismaticks may the better sympathize and unite with the Antimonarchical Papists in *Owen Roe Oneal*'s Army, against the Lord *Inchiquin*, whereof the said Lord hath given some hint, as I have aforesaid. You see the predominant Principle is *Antimonarchy*, which easily overswayes *Religion* on both sides.

116. A Frigot of the Princes taken with many Letters and Commissions.

Sir *Milles Levesey* having casually taken a little Frigot of the Princes, called the *Chistopher* manned with one Captain *Green*, and 8. men, took divers Commissions in her, and a Letter of Mart, granted to the said Captain *to make prize of Rebels and Enemies Goods*, and a Paper of Instructions, prohibiting *Green to use any Hostility untill the Prince had published his Declaration, and untill it were designed who were His Enemies*; other writings were then taken, which were referred to a Committee of the House of Commons to peruse and report. Mr. *Lechmere* reported from the said Committee, *That some of those writings were not fit to be published in the House*, (hereby you see that the House is already divested of that Power and Authority which the People have Trusted only them with, & all is now usurped by confiding Sectary Committees) so Mr. *Lechmere* reported, *That there was an Adjudication out of the Princes Admiralty held in the* Isle of Jersey, *whereby a ship belonging to one* Tucknell *was adjudged against him, upon this ground given in the Adjudication, That* Tucknell *had taken that* damnable Oath, *called* [*The National Covenant.*] I appeal to any man that doth not hastily beleeve all he hears, whether it be probable the Prince (in such a conjuncture of time, when the Parliament it self says, *That the Prince invited the* Scots *to invade* England, *and had declared for them*) would hazard the losing of the *Scots*, by inserting such a clause in the Adjudication? All is not Gold that glisters; these Letters may be St. *Martins* ware, counterfeit stuff.

117. A design to seize on divers Presbyterian Aldermen, Lords and Commons.

About this time (it is reported by some that professe to know it) there was a design for *Skippon*'s new sifted-men to seize upon Alderman *Langham*, Alderman *Bunce*, and some of the Lords and Members of the House of Commons in the night; whereof notice being given, some of the Members knowing that Treachery (like the Basilisk) dies if it be first seen, to shew that it was discovered, caused one of their Party in the House, to move, *That*

Skippon

Shippon might be Ordered not to seize on, kill or slay any Member of either House.

An order passed the House of Commons for the Earl of *Warwick, to fight the Prince at Sea.* It was sent up to the Lords, and passed that House too; whereby it became an Ordinance. Yet some of the Lords entred a protestation against it, as the Earls of *Lincoln, Suffolk*, Lord *North*. 118. An Ordinance for the Earl of *Warwick* to fight the Prince at Sea.

2. Of *August*, The Zealots of the House of Commons fell again upon the businesse of *Rolf*, at an unseasonable hour of the day, and in a thin House. They ordered *a Conference with the Lords about him, and that the Lords be desired to joyn with the Commons in Bayling of him*; and yet, for Treason, a man is not Baylable by Law. I cannot hear that Mr. *Osborn*'s time of staying with Freedom and Safety to prosecute *Rolf* is renewed by the Commons, although it be expired; you see the Iron-bound Saints of the Army are impregnable, even against High Treason; if this Puny Saint be so inviolable, what hope have Major *Huntington*, and *John Lilburn* to be heard against *Cromwell*? 119. More endeavours of the Independents in favour of *Rolf*.

For if the man such freedom have,
What then must he that keeps the Knave?

Yet if *Rolf* had but bastinadoed Sir *Henry Mildmay* (and that's no great matter) peradventure he had been prosecuted in earnest.

Thursday, 3. *August*, a Letter from the Earl of *Warwick* was read in the House of Commons, complaining *of the Refractorinesse of the Sea-men, and that he could not govern them without a Commission for Martial Law*; which was readily assented to; as any thing that cries up Arbitrary power, above the known Laws, usually is. But how this will agree with the discipline of the Sea, and how they will fight being so yoaked, I know not. 120. A Letter from the Earl of *Warwick* for Martial Law at Sea.

The same day a Letter passed the House of Commons, directed to the Assembly of the Kirk of *Scotland*, setting forth what the Parliament had done in way of setling peace, reforming the Church and Universities, and maintaining the Covenant and union between the two Nations, and complaining of Duke *Hamilton*'s Invading *England* under the Authority of the Parliament of *Scotland*, to the Kirk there. How dangerous this president may prove to both Kingdoms, to make a few ambitious, pædantical Church-men supreme Judges over Parliament and State affairs, 121. A Letter from the Parliament to the Assembly of the Kirk of *Scotland*.

in ordine ad Deum: and how apt they are to lay hold upon such occasions, and kindle their zeal into a consuming flame, I leave to all wise men to judge.

121. A Declaration and 2. Letters from the Prince, to the City. The Commons Debate upon them.

Thursday, 3. *August*. The Sheriffs of *London* and some of the Common Council brought to the House the Copies of two Letters they had received from the PRINCE; one directed to the Common Council, *expressing his Highnesse good affection to Peace, and to the whole City; and his endeavours to vindicate his Fathers Liberty and just Prerogative and Rights; to restore to the People their Laws, Liberties, and Property, to free them from that bondage under which they were now held like a Conquered Nation, to ease them of Excise and Taxes, to settle Religion according to his Fathers Agreement made with the* Scots, *and to reduce all things into their antient and proper Chanel.* This Letter was accompanied with his Declaration to the same purpose. The other was to the Merchant Adventurers, *Informing them he had made stay of 3. of their ships, but without any intent to make prize of them, desiring to borrow* 20000*l. of them to be repayed out of the Customes, and requiring their speedy answer.* To which Col. *Harvy* (first aggravating many faults in the King's Government, according to the scandalous Declaration against him) said, *The Prince was his Fathers own Son, as like him as could be. That he had invited the* Scots *to come in, and declared for them; and had been formerly in Arms against the Parliament. That he was but a subject*; And moved the House to declare him a *Rebell and a Traytor*. Sir *Peter Wentworth*, Mr. *Knightly*, and Mr. *Blackstone* seconded him with much earnestnesse; so did *Edward Ash*, who farther moved, *That the Common Council and Merchants should give no answer to his Letters*, saying, *there was no danger the Prince should make prize of their ships, for that he had engaged to the States of the* Low-Countries *to do no act prejudicial to Trade.* At last the Debate was put off until the next day, being Friday: when the Speaker putting the House in mind of it again, It was earnestly called upon by the younger Sir *John Evelin* (Mr. Solicitors shadow) *Scot, Weaver, Holland, Boys*, and almost all the Godly Gang. So the Debate was resumed: and *Weaver* went very high to try the temper of the House. But the Debate *in Terminis*, That *the Prince should be declared a Rebell and a Traytor*, was soon laid by (though violently pressed) chiefly upon these reasons.

1. That

1. That they had not the Originals of the Princes Letter and Declaration, (which the Common-Council still kept) but onely Copies, not so much as attested upon Oath by any authentical Clerk; therefore no legal proceedings could be upon them.

2. To Vote the Prince a Traytor the same day when they sent Messengers to invite the King his Father to a Treaty of Peace, would argue no peaceable inclination in them, and would be so understood by the People.

3. They were engaged by the Nationall Covenant to defend the King's Person, Crown and Dignity; but the Prince, Heir apparent to His Crown, was (next under God) the chief supporter of his Crown and Dignity, therefore to Vote him a Traitor was to subvert his Crown and Dignity.

4. By the Stat. 25. *Edw.* 3. it is *High Treason to endeavour the destruction of the Prince, the Kings eldest Son*; but to declare him a Rebel and a Traitor, was to endeavour to destroy him; and therefore High Treason.

5. The people were already jealous that the KING and His Posterity should be laid by; and in them the Monarchical Government of this Nation subverted, and a new form of Government introduced; they had already by the Votes of *No Addresses to the KING*, and by their Declaration against Him (wherein they say, *They can no longer confide in Him*) laid by the KING, and now to Vote the PRINCE a Rebel and a Traytor, was to lay by both him, and his Brother the DUKE of *YORK*, who adheres to him, which would exceedingly confirm the people in their feares. But what they could not do expresly, they did implicitly, by Voting *All that should adhere to, aid, or assist the* PRINCE, *Rebels and Traytors*: Hereby they put a tie upon the City not to redeem their Ships, by lending 200000*l.* to the Prince; and yet had a Pirat taken them, it had been lawful to redeem them.

All that adhere to the Prince, declared Traytors

Saturday, 5 *August*. The House of Commons went upon the Commissioners to judge of Scandals; there was a Clause in the Ordinance, *forbidding the Nomination of such as refused the National Covenant*, which was strongly opposed by the Independents, who argued, *That the National Covenant was but a League sworn mutually by the two Nations; that the* Scots *by Invading* England *had first broke it, and thereby set the* English *at liberty from it, that*

123. The National Covenant.

the Covenant was not Jure divino, *no more than Presbytery was.* To which was Answered, *That the large Treaty containing the League betwixt the two Nations,* so did not the Covenant, which was a *Vow made unto God with our hands lifted up to heaven, for the maintenance and observation of the ends and principles expressed in the Covenant, from which no power on Earth can absolve.* That though the Covenant was not *Jure divino,* yet the keeping of it after we have taken it is *Jure divino,* it being the revealed will of God, *that we should not offer to him the sacrifice of fools;* a Covenant to day, and break it to morrow.

124. A new Militia erected in every County, in the hands of Sectaries.

Mondon, 7 *August.* A particular Ordinance *to put the County of* Wilts *into a posture of defence* was read, many that were named to be Deputy Lieutenants, or Commissioners, were mean petty fellowes, as one *Read* a Serving-man, and others, such as refuse to Act upon the Ordinances *for setling Church Government;* and declare *that our Ministery is Antichristian,* and are new dipped Brethren that have been re-baptized. *These to have power to raise what men, and put arms into what hands they list; to fine* 10l. *and twenty days Imprisonment for every default, and to levy* 40l. *a week upon that poor County over and above the Taxes to* Fairfax's *Army, and* Ireland *and Free-quarter.* The general Ordinance to trust the Counties with their own defence, is obstructed, to give way to these particular Ordinances, That all the Arms and Garrisons of the Kingdom may be put into the hands of Antimonarchical Sectaries, and the *Militia* of Godly Cut-throats established in every County towards the putting down of Monarchy, and the erecting of the many-headed Tyranny of the Saints of *Derby-house* and the Army. This Ordinance was commited.

125. Letters uncharacterized, a new invented net to catch Presbyterians in.

Tuesday, 8 *August. Thomas Scot* made report to the House of Commons of the private Letters brought out of *Scotland* by Master *Haly-barton,* (whereof I have formerly given you notice) this Gentleman being a publique Messenger from the Kingdom of *Scotland,* (and not from Duke *Hamilton* or his Army, whom only the House of Commons have declared Enemies, without the concurrence of the Lords) hath leave given him by the Lords to stay a Month in *England;* yet the Commons have since Voted he shall be gone in twenty four hours, or else he shall be sent home in Custody. These Letters are most of them written in Characters, yet this wel-gifted Brother *Scot,* hath found out a New

Light

Light to Decipher them by; and can tell by Inspiration, or by Privilege of Parliament, what Cypher or Character must signifie such a Letter of the Alphabet, or such a mans name. This engine added to the Schismatical High Commission or Committee of Clandestine Examinations, is better than any spring or trap to catch any active Presbyterian that lies crosse to the design of the Godly.

They may suppose any mans name to lie hid under such or such Characters and Cyphers, and so accuse him by virtue of this mysterious art, of ayding or complying with the Scots or the Prince, and pin whatsoever the Faction pleaseth to call Treason upon his sleeve; these are the Arts of the Godly to make Innocency it self seem nocent, and remove out of the way such as hinder the erecting the Kingdom of the Saints.

These Letters so decyphered, were afterwards at a Conference reported to the Lords.

Wednesday, 9 *August*. The Answer to the City Petition (the day before delivered to the House of Commons) was reported to the House. It was an Answer to some of the Prayers of that Petition only, but gave no Answer to their desires, for the Disbanding of all Armies to ease the people of their Burdens. The restoring of the peoples Lawes and Liberties. The enjoyning all Members to attend the House; nor to the effectuall observation of the self-denying Ordinance: this last is a *noli me tangere*; if all Members should be enjoyned to be self-denying men, there would be few Godly men left in the House; How should the Saints possesse the good things of this world? yet (after some debate, and divers expressions used by *Weaver* and *Harvy*, That it appeared by the Petition that the City would desert the Parliament) they gave an Answer to their desires concerning the union to be kept with *Scotland*, and a Cessation of all acts of Hostility during the Treaty of Peace; That they had Voted the Army under Duke *Hamilton* Enemies, and Declared, They would Act accordingly against them, to which they would adhere. 126. The City Petition answered.

Master *Hugerford* argued, That because the Lords had denyed to concur in the said Vote, he conceived the House could make no such Declaration, nor act therein without them. This put the Zealous into a flame, that any Member should argue against the Privileges of their House, so far as to deny them to be Almighty 127. The Commons debate to take away the Lords Negative voice and act without them.

ry singly, and *per se*: *Reynolds* the Lawyer positively affirming, *that the Houses of Commons (being the Representative of all the People) had power to Act without the Lords for safety of the people, in case the Lords deserted their trust*: you see in this doctrine (as it hath been already, and is likely to be practised hereafter) a ground layd to subvert the foundation of all Parliaments for ever, and to bring all degrees of men to a parity or levell. For the Parliament (by all the known Laws of the Land) consisting of 3. Estates,

1. *King*, 2. *Lords*, And 3. *Commons*.

Two of the Estates (*viz.* the Lords and Commons) have already laid by the King, and His Negative Voice; and now the Commons debate of laying by the Lords, and their Negative Voice, because (in their judgement) they desert their Trust. And so the Commons alone shall act as a Parliament without K I N G or Lords, until falling into contempt and hatred of the people, (which will soon happen) the Grandees of *Derby-house* and the Army shall take advantage to lay the House of Commons by, and usurp the *Kings supreme Governing Power*, the *Parliaments Legislative Power*, yea and *the Judges Judicative Power to themselves*, and establish the *many-headed Kingdom, Tyranny, or Oligarchy of the Saints* (so much contended for) in themselves. *O populum in servitutem paratum*! as *Tyberius* said of the *Romans*. This is the tail of the Viper, here lies his venom.

128. Dead men Sequestred, and the Sanctuary of the Grave violated.

Saturday, 12 *August*, A Message was sent to the Commons from the House of Lords in the behalf of Commissary Generall *Copley*, who had bought, and had a grant of the Wardship of the Heir of Sir *William Hanby*, for which he paid Fine and Rent, and was outed of it by a Sequestration laid upon *Hanby's* Estate after his death, he having been never questioned for Delinquency during his life-time; and this was maliciously done about the time when Master *Copley* was Imprisoned by the power of the Independent Faction, (whereof I have already said something) Master *Copley* desired the Sequestration might be taken off, and he permitted to enjoy his Contract made with the Court of Wards; alleging, that to Sequester or condemn a man after his death, when he could not answer for himself, was against the Laws of the Land, even in the highest crimes of Felony and Treason: and produced a President, *That the Committee of Lords and Commons*

Commons for Sequestrations had taken off a Sequestration from the Lands of Andrew Wall, for no other reason but because Andrew Wall *was Sequestred after his death.* The case was diversly argued; it was alleged, *that in cases of the highest Treason no man was condemned after death, because he was not then in being to answer for himself, there could be no proceeding in Law against a* non ens. In Felony *if a man will stand mute, he forfeits not his lands, because there wants an Answer*, and yet it was his own fault not to answer. The Parliament is bound by all their Declarations made both to KING and People, and by the Nationall Covenant which contains all the first and just Principles of the Parliament, *to defend the Laws and Liberties of the Land*, and not to subvert them. Take heed of giving so dangerous a President for Kings to act by hereafter against the People, and against this Parliament and their friends; since no man yet knows which way the tide may turn. But the Independent Faction (whose interest it is to keep themselves rich, and all men else poor) argued the case meerly upon point of profit and conveniency, and neglected the right and *jus* of the businesse. They alleged, *That men of desperate resolutions would not reward the losse of their own lives, so as they might preserve their Wives and Children: That the State* (as they pleased to stile it) *would lose much by such an example, they could not therefore approve of the lenity of the Lords and Commons used in* Walls *case; many had been Sequestred after death*, and so arguing *a facto ad jus*; alleged, *that in case of Monopolies, satisfaction had been awarded out of dead mens Estates.* But they forgot that out of Sequestrations no satisfaction is given to the parties wronged; the Committees and Sequestrators imbezelling the profits of them to increase their own gains, not bestowing them to repair injured mens losses, and so the equity upon which this President is founded, faileth in case of Sequestrations. Thus you see these greedy Canibal Saints (like the hungry dogs that ate *Jesabel*) will devour carrion, or any thing that will make them fat and full: yet they declared, *They were willing this Sequestration should be bestowed upon Master* Copley *as a Gratuity, not as a Right for fear of the example.* Observe, that if Master *Copley* had waived his Title by Composition, and accepted this Wardship as a Gift, they would presently have published it in their *News books*, and *Gilbert Mabbot* should have proclaimed to all the world, that

Prebyterians

Presbyterians and Independents might be thought alike guilty of impoverishing the Kingdom: for the Faction labours nothing more than to have Companions in their sins and shames: At last it was passed, That Mr. *Copley* should have the Wardship restored to him, but great care taken it should not be drawn into example hereafter, that a man may not be Sequestred for Delinquency after his death, *Cavete vobis mortui atque sepulti*, dead mens graves are not secure from these *Lycanthropi*, these *Lou-garous*.

119. The Messengers to the King, Report their Message in the House of Commons.

Monday, 14. *August*, Master *Bulkeley* in the name of himself and his fellow-Commissioner Sir *I. Hippesly* (sent to the King to acquaint him with the Vote of the two Houses, *That they desired a Treaty with the King upon the Propositions of* Hampton-Court *in what place of the Island of* Wight *He should think fit, and that the Treaty shall be with Honour, Freedom, and Safety to His Majesty*) Reported to the House of Commons all the circumstances and emergencies of their imployment, (the Kings Letter of Answer being carried to the Lords by the Earl of *Middlesex*, and therefore not delivered to the Commons for the present) which with much candor were related as followeth, *That the KING had them welcom, saying, they came about a welcom businesse (PEACE) which no man desired with more earnestnesse than Himself; and if there did not ensue a Peace, the fault should not lie at his dore; and that He feared no obstructions from any but those who gained by the War.* He farther said, *that His Majesty desired (immediatly after the delivery of the Votes) to speak a word with them in private, which they modestly excused for want of Commission.* That about two days after his Majesty seeing the said Commissioners of the Parliament standing in the Presence Chamber, first beckoned the Earl of *Middlesex* to him, and had some short discourse singly with him, and then with Sir *John Hippesly* and Master *Bulkeley* one after another. These three Gentlemen afterwards comparing their notes, found the Kings discourse to every of them to be all to one effect, *viz. Expressing His desires of a good peace*; and *importuning them to do all good Offices conducing thereto. He farther related, that when they took leave of His Majesty, He delivered His Answer in writing to them unsealed*; telling them, *He doubted not their fidelity, though ill use had been made of His last Answer which he sent open, it having been debated in private, and a prejudice put upon it, before it was*

pre-

presented to the Houses. This free and unpartial Report shewing how earnest his Majesty is for Peace, did the King so much Right, that the Antimonarchical Faction looked upon it as done to their wrong, and *Herbert Morley* presently spit out his Venom to this purpose, Mr. Speaker, *These Gentlemen have delivered all to you but what they should deliver, that is, the Kings Answer, which they have suffered first to be carried to the Lords; they might have delivered you at least a Copy thereof* (it should seem *Morley* had forgot that the House proceeds not upon Copies) *My motion is, that since these Gentlemen have exceeded their Commission by conferring privately with the King, the House may do well either to question them therefore, or give them an Act of Oblivion for their good service.* This was cried up on a long time by the whole kennell of the Faction, and at last put off till the next day, when the Lords sending down the Kings Letter, the House should have the whole businesse before them.

130. The aforesaid Messengers again.

The next day being Tuesday, 15. *August*, the Kings aforesaid Letter of Answer with divers Votes thereupon were sent down from the Lords to the House of Commons, when presently the Beagles of the Faction spent their mouths freely against the said Commissioners again for lending the KING the civility of an eare in private, as aforesaid. After a long debate, at last this Objection stopped the Mouths of Malice it self, *That if these Gentlemen had reported an averseness in the King to Peace (and aggravated His Words as other Messengers had formerly done, whereof the King seem'd to complain) it would have proved a welcome discovery, and have been rewarded with Thanks instead of an Act of Oblivion.* So with much adoe, *Thanks were given to the said Gentlemen, with approbation of their proceedings.*

131. The *Militia* of *London*: Concerning private Listing by *Skippon*; and the *Militia* of the City.

The same day the *Militia* of *London* were called into the House of Commons, where Alderman *Gibs* in the name of the Common-Council and *Militia* (not by Petition, but in a set Speech) delivered the fears and jealousies of the City (even of the greatest, wisest, and best affected) occasioned by *Skippon's* underhand Listing of Schismaticks, Antimonarchists; his setting up thereby a power against a power, to the endangering of a civil War within the Bowels of the City; weakning of the Trained Bands, debauching Servants from their Masters, Children from their Parents. That under colour of *Skippon's* private Listings, other pri-

vate Liftings were carried on by Malignants, the Magistrates of the City not being able to question either, and distinguish one from the other. That fear was a violent passion, and was now grown so universal, that the Common Council knew not how to give satisfaction therein, the Citizens usually clamouring, *that if the Houses did not give them leave to look to their safety, they must have recourse to the Law of Nature, and Act in their Militia without the Houses in order to Self-defence, allowable by all Laws, and practised by this very Parliament against the King, and by* Fairfax's *Army against this Parliament.*

The Prayers of his Speech were three.

1. That *Skippon*'s Listed men might be under the Militia of the City.

2. That the expired Ordinance for Listing Forces might be revived.

3. That the Militias of *Westminster*, *Southwark*, and the *Hamlets* might be united with the City as formerly.

To this clause of having recourse *to the Law of Nature for Self-defence*, great exceptions were taken in the debate of the House by the two *Ashes*, *Vane*, *Harvy*, *Scot*, *Weaver*, and other of the Godly pack. *That the Parliament having fought with the King for the Militia, and having got it by the Sword, any other Interest, upon any title whatsoever should dare to lay claim to any part of it.* You see these Lyons of the Tribe will allow no Beasts of different kind to share with them in their prey, although they did sweat and bleed with them in the hunting and catching it. The Grandees may as well say *they have conquered our Laws and Liberties*; for (as I have in my *General Conclusion* cited) they say, *That they fought with the King for his Negative Voice, and Legislative Power, and that God hath by the Verdict of the Sword given judgement for them*; and yet when the King claimed them by a better and more legal Title than the Sword, they could object the equity of the Laws against the killing letter of them, which they say, directs still to the equitable sense of all Laws, as discerning with the very letter thereof as being supreme to it when safety and preservation is concerned, and alleging, *That all Authority is seated fundamentally in the Office, and but ministerially in the persons; and that it is no resisting of Magistracy to side with the just Principles of Nature.* See the Declaration and Papers of the Arm

Army, p. 39. 40. and the Ecclect Collect. p. 150. *& alibi passim*: In conclusion, after a tedious debate, the desires of the Citizens were referred to a Committee of the House to be wyer-drawn into an Ordinance, *That all Forces raised, and to be raised in the City of* London, *and the Liberties thereof, should be subject to the Militia of* London (whereof *Skippon* is a Member) *and under the Command of Major General* Skippon. When this Ordinance will be perfected, what the sense and meaning of this Riddle is, and what dangers may befall the City if *Colchester* be taken, or the *Scots* beaten, before they have leave to put themselves into a posture of defence, God knows. It was farther referred to bring in an Ordinance for uniting the aforesaid *Militias*. You see how jealous they are of late of the *Militia*, since the Grandees entertained new Principles, and new designs. In the Propositions presented to the King at *Newcastle*, the Proposition for the *Militia* hath this proviso, Provided *that the City of* London *shall have and enjoy all their Rights, Liberties, Franchises and Customs, and Usages in raising and employing the Forces of that City for the defence thereof, in as full and ample manner to all intents and purposes, as they have, or might have used or enjoyed the same at any time before the making of this Act or Proposition: to the end that City may be fully assured, it is not in the intention of the Parl. to take from them any Privileges or Immunities in raising and disposing of their Forces, which they have, or might have used or enjoyed heretofore.* This is a clear confession, that by the antient Customs and Usages of the City, they have Right to their own *Militia*, or else this *Proviso* were vain; howsoever the learned Counsel of the City fool them. The like *proviso* word for word is contained in the Proposition for the *Militia* of *Hampton* Court, saving that the last clause, *That the City may be assured the Parliament hath no intention to take from them any Privileges, &c.* is omitted, I think to please the Army and their engaged party. See the Letters, Papers, Transactions of the English Commissioners in *Scotland* with the Scots, &c. p. 58.

Wednesday 16 *August*. The Kings said Letter was read, and the Lords Votes thereupon: first, (after some little opposition) the Commons concurred with the Lords in recalling the 4 Votes *for making and receiving no Addresses to or from the King*: thereby, 1. Absolving him from a kind of Parliamentary Excommunication. 132. The Lords Votes upon the Kings Letter, debated in the House of Commons.

2. Restoring to all Free-born Subjects the Liberty they are born to, of presenting their humble desires to his Majesty, and performing the duties of their Allegiance and Oath.

And 3. Reducing themselves unto that scope, and end, for which only the Writ summons them as a Parliament, *viz. To Treat with the King.* The second Vote, was, *To recall the Instructions of Parliament given to* Hammond, *how to carry himself in his Charge towards the King, His Servants, and all Resorters to Him, &c.* This was laid by, to be debated in the last place, after all the rest of the Lords Votes. The third Vote read, was, *That such men of all professions as the King should send for, as of necessary use to Him in the Treaty, may be admitted to wait on him, and that He might be in the same State of Freedom He was in when He was last at* Hampton-Court. This Vote (instead of concurring with the Lords) was divided. The first part (after many objections to it) was moulded into this following question, and carried in the affirmative, *that His Majesty might send for men of all professions, and he being desired first to send a List of their Names to the Parl. and nominating no Person excepted out of Pardon, none that have been in Actual War against the Parliament, nor any man that is under restraint of the Parliament.* The latter part of this Vote, *for enjoying such Freedom as he was in at* Hampton-Court, was diversly argued for the Ambiguousnesse of it; the question being, *Whether such freedom as the Parliament allowed him, or such freedom as the Army* (for their own ends) *gave him, de facto, were intended?* at last the question was agreed to be *in Terminis.* The fourth Vote, was, *that the Scots should be invited to the treaty:* this likewise was doubtfully argued, 1. *Whether they should be invited by the Parliament? considering they had broken the late treaty, National Covenant, and Union, by surprizing and Garrisoning* Barwick *and* Carlisle, *and by entring* England *with an Army:* This was carried in the Negative. The 2. Debate, was, *Whether it should be left to the King to invite the Scots to send some persons authorized to treat upon such Propositions as they should make for the Interest of* Scotland *only?* This likewise was opposed for the reasons aforesaid, and because the Power and Authority of *Scotland* was now in the hands of Duke *Hamilton* and a few dis-affected persons, who were not likely to send any of the honest Godly party to Treat, whereby the Treaty would be carried on

to

to the disadvantage and ruine of the Godly and of the Church, our only friends there: And Mr. *Ashurst* related, *That the major part of the past Parliament of* Scotland *over-powred the minor part by an Army, and so got the Engagement and other Acts, and the Committee of Estates passed, against which the Assembly of the Kirk (consisting of 400 persons) declared with one Voice.* I know not what he meant, by saying *the major part in* Scotland *over-powred the minor*, when I consider that *major pars obtinet rationem totius*, the major part is virtually the Parliament, to which the minor part must submit; although here in *England* the lesser part of the Parliament engaging and conspiring with an Army (whom themselves in a full and free Parliament had formerly declared *Enemies to the State*) overpowred the greater part, contrary to reason and practice. This question seemed to agree with the sense of the Independents reasonably well, because it leaves it onely to the pleasure of the King to Treat dis-junctively with the *Scots* upon the sole Interest of *Scotland*, as men no ways concerned in the settlement of Peace in *England*; whereby it is tacitely inferred, that the Treaties, Covenant, and Union between the two Kingdoms is dissolved, so the question aforesaid was put with this addition, *That if the King shall be pleased to invite the* Scots *to send some Persons Authorized, &c. the Parliament will give them safe conduct.* The fifth Vote of the Lords was, *That* Newport *in the* Island of Wight *should be the place of Treaty:* to which the Commons concurred. With these debates ended this Week the 19 day of *August*.

About this time came forth a Book enticuled, [*The necessity of the absolute power of all Kings, and in particular, of the King of* England] concerning which, I am to admonish the Reader, that it is conceived to be a Cockatrice hatched by the Antimonarchical Faction, to envenome the people against the KING and PRINCE. 133. A pestilent Book, called, [*The necessity of the absolute power of Kings, &c.*]

The next Week begins with Monday 21 *August*, of whose proceedings I can give you only an imperfect scambling relation; and so shall surcease all farther endeavours in this kind, because I have already delivered enough for your Instruction, if God have not appointed you to be led blindfold into the pit digged for your destruction; but principally because my good *Genius*, that furnished me with Intelligence, hath now retired himself

himself from acting without hope, to praying with faith, for this Country; being tired out with hearing and seeing so much sinne and folly as now raigns at *Westminster*: and I love not much to take news upon trust from the vulgar Peripateticks of the Hall.

134. Mr. *Martyns* levelling practises and principles.

The chief things of note were, More Complaints of *Henry Martyn*, who now declares himself *for a Community of Wealth*, as well as of Women, *and protests against King, Lords, Gentry, Lawyers, and Clergy*, nay, *against the Parliament it self*, in whose bosome this Viper hath been fostered, and *against all Magistrates*; like a second *Wat Tyler*, all Pen and Inkhorn-men must down. His Levelling Doctrine is conteined in a Pamphlet, called, [*Englands Troubler Troubled*] wherein, *All Rich men whatsoever are declared Enemies to the Mean men of* England, and (in effect) War denounced against them.

135. *Skippon's* Listings.

Next, the Ordinance *for transferring over to the Militia of* London Skippon's *power of listing men in* London, was passed in the House of Commons, with this Coloquintida in it, *That* Skippon *should name and appoint Commanders and Officers for the Forces listed, to be approved of by the Militia of* London.

136. *Cromwel's* laureat letters 20 Aug. 1648.

A Letter from *Oliver Cromwel* was read in the House of Commons, *relating his easie victory over Duke* Hamilton *and Major Gen.* Bayly, (which puts me in mind of *Ovid's* Victory over *Corinna*, of whom he saith,

Victa est, non ægrè, proditione sua.)

and conteining an admonition *not to hate Gods people, who are as the apple of his eye, and for whom even Kings shall be reproved*: and *exhorting the Speaker* (to whom it was written) *to fulfill the end of his Magistracy, that all that will live peaceably and quietly* (viz. in Vassalage to *Oliver* and his Faction, and neglect Religion, Laws, and Liberties) *may have countenance from him.* (God blesse all honest men from the light of *Oliver's* countenance, lest in an *ignis fatuus* mislead them from the duties of their Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, Protestation, and Covenant) *and they that are implacable, may speedily be destroyed out of the Land.*

137. Martial Law in *London.*

To prepare the way to whose destruction, it was Ordered, *That an Ordinance be penned, and brought into the House of Commons, to try all such by Martial Law in the City of* London *as shall be found to plot, design, or contrive any thing, to endanger the Parliament or City.* And yet *London* is no Garrison now as it

was

was when *Tomkins* and *Challoner* were tried; not is there any Enemy considerable in the Field, whereby the known Laws of the Land may not passe currently through the Kingdom: but our known Laws are not written in blood; nor are they so flexible as to make all Traytors, the Faction pleaseth to call such.

138. *Rolf's* Bayl again pressed.

Yet as cruel as these Caco fuegos of the Faction are to some, they have mercy enough for *Rolf*, whose Bayl was again exceedingly pressed: and that his two Prosecutors *Osburn* and *Dowcet* should be under restraint in his stead; whom they have forejudged (out of the King's Letter to the Houses) not to be able to prove their information, whereas it may be discretion in the King not to encrease his danger by acknowledging it.

139. The KINGS Letter to the States of *Scotland* taken from *Haly-burton*.

Saturday, 26. *August.* The King's Letter to the Committee of States in *Scotland*, &c. in Answer to their Letter sent to Him by *Haly-burton* (which Letter was taken from *Haly-burton*, although a publique Minister of State, and allowed by Parliament to carry their Letter to the King) was read in the House of Commons.

I hear in general, that it was excellently well penned, and a very just, honest, and peaceable Letter. Yet it was Voted, neither to be sent to the Lords, nor to be restored to *Haly-burton*; but damned to close imprisonment in a Box, under Seal; lest the people should know how truly zealous his Majesty is to settle Peace in the Land: a mystery their understandings must not be trusted withall.

Prolegomena.

Promises, Protestations, and Covenants, made by this Parliament in behalf of the King and People.

Remonstrance 15. December 1641. Exact. Collect. p. 15.

After a repetition of many good Acts and Concessions obtained by this Parliament of the King for the ease of the People, they say farther, *that other things of main importance for the good of this Kingdom are in Proposition, &c. which yet before the end of this Session they hope may receive some progresse and perfection; As the establishing and ordering the Kings Revenue, &c. The Regulating*

ting of Courts of Justice, and the abridging both the delaies and Charges of Law Suits, &c. Preventing the exportation of Gold and Silver; and the inequality of Exchanges between this and other Kingdoms; improving the Herring fishing upon our Coasts, &c. which things in all their Propositions and Addresses to the King have not been once mentioned, nor any thing else but what makes for the profit, preferment, and power of a few ambitious Grandees of the Parliament, and Army; in order to which, they demand the *Militia* of a standing Army, with an arbitrary power to raise what Forces by Land and Sea, consisting of what persons, and to raise what sums of Money out of every mans Estate they please: which power the King hath not to give, neither did He nor His Ancestors ever exercise: the only *Militia* they used having been either the *Posse Commitatus under the Sheriffs*, which is very legal and antient, or *the Militia of Trained Bands under Lord Lieutenants, and their Deputy Lieutenants*, which is a new invention. Nor did the policy of our Law ever trust the *power of the Sword*, and *the Purse in one hand*, for fear of enslaving the People.

Ex. Col. p. 19. They farther declare, *That it is far from their purpose or desire to let loose the Golden reins of Discipline and Government in the Church, to have private persons or particular Congregations to take up what form of Divine Service they please, because they hold it requisite that there should be throughout the whole Realm a Conformity to that Order which the Laws enjoyn.*

Ex. Col. p. 203. They farther say there, *That the gracious favour His Majesty expressed in the Bill for continuance of this Parliament, and the advantage and security which they thereby have from being Dissolved, shall not encourage them to do any thing, which otherwise had not been fit to have been done.*

Ex. Col. p. 281. They conclude the said Declaration thus, *That they doubt not but it shall in the end appear to all the world, that their endeavours have been most hearty and sincere, for the maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, The Kings just Prerogatives, The Laws and Liberties of the Land, and the Privileges of Parliament, in which indeavours (by the Grace of God) they would still persist, though they should perish in the work.*

Ex. Col. p. 376. In their Declaration 4. *June* 1642. The Lords and Commons do declare, *That the Design of their Propositions for Plate and Money is, To maintain the Protestant Religion, the King's Authority and Person,*

Person, in his Royal Dignity; The free Course of Justice, The Laws of the Land, (what then becomes of Martial Law, and Committee Law?) *The Peace of the Kingdom, and Privileges of Parliament.*

In their Propositions for bringing in Money and Plate, 10. *June* 1642. the Lords and Commons declare, *That no mans affections shall be measured according to the proportion of his offer, so that he expresse his good will to the Service in any proportion whatsoever,* (that is, so that he ingage with them) yet notwithstanding the 29. *Novemb.* following, the same Lords and Commons appointed a Committee of 6. persons, who should have *power to Assess all such persons as were of ability, and had not Contributed, and such as had Contributed, yet not according to their ability,* (which is now looked upon as a Malignancy) *to pay such sums of Money, according to their Estates, as the Assessors, or any of them should think fit, so as the same exceeded not the 20. part of their Estates.* The power is still exercised by all Country Committees, to a 5. and 20. part, charged upon all men, even such as have been destroyed and undon, or laid forth themselves beyond their abilities, for their service to this Parliament. Ex. Col. p. 340. Ex. Col. p. 765.

In the *National Covenant* taken by this Parliament, and by them imposed upon the Kingdom to be taken with *hands lifted up to the most High God,* the Lords and Commons vow, *To maintain the King's Person, Crown and Dignity, in Defence of Religion, Laws, and Liberties, &c. To suppress all Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and Schisms; and to defend one another mutually in the same work with their lives and fortunes;* yet is the same Covenant now cast aside, and called, *An Almanack out of date.* Many men have been punished for attempting to keep it. And (I hear) the House of Commons are now upon passing an Ordinance for *Martial Law to be executed in* London, *upon all such persons, as having taken the said Covenant, shall attempt or design any thing against the Parliament or City of* London: what is this but to impose a special penalty upon such as have taken the Covenant, and leave those that have not taken it free? And who doubts but that the said Council of War shall consist of Anti-monarchical Schismaticks and Anti-covenanters, for the most part, who shall stretch every word to the utmost extent. And this is now in brewing, contrary to the *Petition of Right, 3. Caroli, & Magna Charta,* no considerable enemy being in the Field, and the Courts of Justice in *Westminster hall* sitting:

nay, I hear (like *Janus Bifrons*) this Law (if I do not mis-call it) looks backwards to Acts past, as well as forward, contrary to the nature of all Laws, which have an admonishing power to warn men of the evil to come, before they can have a punishing power for evils passed: Therefore the Apostle saith, *Sin is a breach of a Commandement, (or Law) I had not known Sin but by the Law.* The Law therefore must be previous to the Sin. How the said Promises and Covenant, and many more have been kept, let the world judge.

What the Promises, Undertakings, and Proposals of the Army have been in order to setling the peace of the people of this Kingdom, and of the King's just Rights and Prerogatives, and their own Disbanding, are to be found in their many printed Papers; which I will here omit, because they had no lawfull calling or warrant for such undertakings, and how they have been prosecuted and perfomed, is obvious to every capacity.

General Conclusion.

Out of these Premises, I shall draw these Conclusions following.

1. The Grandees have subverted the fundamental Government of the Kingdom, and why?

1. THe *engaged Party* have laid the *Axe* to the very root of *Monarchy* and *Parliaments*; they have cast all the Mysteries and secrets of Government, both by Kings and Parliaments, before the vulgar, (like Pearl before Swine) and have taught both the Souldiery and People to look so far into them, as to ravel back all Governments, to the first principles of nature: He that shakes Fundamentals, means to take down the Fabrick. Nor have they been careful to save the materials for Posterity. What these negative Statists will set up in the room of these ruined buildings, doth not appear, only I will say, *They have made the People thereby so curious and so arrogant, that they will never find humility enough to submit to a civil rule*; their aim therefore from the beginning was to rule them by the power of the Sword, a military Aristocracy or Oligarchy, as now they do. Amongst the ancient *Romans, Tentare arcana Imperii*, to prophane the Mysteries of State, was Treason; because there can be no form of Government without its proper Mysteries, which are no longer Mysteries than while they are concealed. Ignorance, and Admiration arising from

from Ignorance are the Parents of civil devotion and obedience, though not of Theological.

2. Nor have these *Grandees* and *their party in the Synod*, dealt more kindly with the *Church*, than with the *Common-wealth*; whose reverend mysteries, their Pulpits and holy Sacraments, and all the functions of the Ministery are by their connivence profaned by the *clouted shoe*; *the basest and lowest of the People making themselves Priests*, and with *a blind distempered zeal Preaching such Doctrine as their private spirits* (spirits of illusion) *dictate to them*; But let them know, *that their burning zeal without knowledge, is like Hell fire without light*. Yet the greatest wonder of all is, *That they suffer the Lords supper* (that Sacrament of Corroboration) *to be so much neglected in almost all the Churches in the Kingdom: Is it because men usually before they receive our Saviour* (that blessed guest) *sweep the house clean, casting out of their hearts* (those living Temples of the holy Ghost) *Pride, Ambition, Covetousnesse, Envy, Hatred, Malice, and all other unclean Spirits to make fit room to entertain* Jesus, *that Prince of Peace*, whereby the people having their minds prepared for *Peace, Charity* and *Reconciliation*, may happily spoil the *trade* of our *Grandees*, who can no longer maintain their usurped dominion over them, than they can keep them dis-united with quarrels and feuds, and uphold those badges of factions, and tearms of distinctions and separations, *Cavaliers, Roundheads, Malignants, Well-affected, Presbyterians*, and *Independents*? or is it because they fear, if the Church were setled in peace and unity, it would be a mean to unite the Common-wealth, as a quiet cheerfull mind often cureth a distempered body? I will not take upon me to judge another mans Servant; but many suspect this is done out of design, not out of peevishnesse.

2. They have subverted the Church.

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper discontinued, and why?

3. That these *Grandees* govern *by power*, not *by love*, and the *Laws of the Land*, (which was my last assertion) appears by,

1. The many Garrisons they keep up, and numerous Army they keep in pay to over-power the whole Kingdom, more than at first the Parliament Voted, all in the hands of Sectaries.

2. Their compelling the Parliament to put the the whole *Militia* of *England* and *Ireland* by Land and by Sea, in the power of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and their party, together with all Garrisons.

3. The Grandees rule by the arbitrary power of the Sword, not by the Lawes.

3. Nor do they think the Laws of the Land extensive enough for their purposes; therefore they piece them out with Arbitrary Ordinances, impeachments before the Lords, and Marshall Law, which is now grown to that height, that the Council of War, General, and Judge advocate of the Army do usually send forth Injunctions to stay Sutes, and release judgements at Law, or else to attend the Council of War wheresoever they sit, to shew cause to the contrary; and when Lieutenant Colonel *Lilburn* was ordered to be brought to the Kings-Bench-Bar, upon his *habeas Corpus*, Easter Term, 1648. *Cromwel* sent word to the Lieutenant of the *Tower* not to bring him; and *Cromwel* was obeyed, not the Judges. Thus the *Laws of the Land* are daily baffled, that men may be accustomed to arbitrary Government, and those actions which no *Law of the Land* calls a *Crime*, may be interpreted *Treason* when our *Grandees* please to have it so.

4. Their *allowing money* to some *Committees* to *reward Informers*, *Spies* and *Intelligencers*, to *betray* even their nearest friends and relations.

5. Their *holding Honest*, *Generous*, and *Grave men in suspicion*, and making the *Houses of Parliament and Army* snares to them, expelling them with *false* and *extrajudicial Accusations*.

6. Their *owning dishonest*, *base-minded men*, that have *cheated the State*, as instruments fit to be *confided in*, and associate with them in *time of danger*.

7. Their *impoverishing the people with confused Taxes*, *decay of Trade*, *and obstructing of the Mint*, and *thereby breaking their spirits*.

8. Their *changing and dividing the Militia* of *London* purposely to *weaken it*.

9. Their *not restoring to the Counties their Militia*, and trusting them to *defend their own houses* as formerly.

10. Their *nourishing Factions in the Common-wealth*, *Schisms in the Church*.

11. *Expelling learned Divines* to let in *ignorant men*. All these are tyrannical policies grounded upon the old principle, *That a Tyrant should deprive his Subjects of all things that may nourish courage*, *strength*, *knowledg*, *mutual confidence and charity amongst them*; which Maxim the Politicians say contains the *whole Systeme or method of Tyrannical Government*.

4. As

4. As this encroaching Faction have *usurped all the Military and Civil power of both Kingdoms*; so they have *monopolized all the great Offices, rich Imployments, and Treasure of the Land*; they are clearly the predominant party in all *Money Committees*; they *give daily* to one another *for pretended Services, Arrears, and Losses, great sums of money*; many of their Largisses I have alreadi set down. They gave lately to Col. *Hammond* Governour of the *Isle of Wight*, for his Table 20l. a Week, 1000l. in money, and 500l. a year land; to Major General *Skippon* 1000l. *per annum* land of Inheritance; to Colonel *Mitton* 5000l. in money; *Prideaux* hath 100l. a Week benefit by the Post-Masters place; his whole Estate (before this Parliament) was hardly worth a 100l. nor is he eminent for any thing but *impudence* and *arrogance*. Mr. *Rowse* hath *Eaton College*, worth 800l. *per annum*, and a Lease of that College worth 600l. *per annum*, Sir *William Alanson* the Hamper-Office, and *Crab Castle* worth 600l. *per annum*, bravely wooded: Alder. *Hoyl* of *York*, the Treasurers Remembrancers Office: Mr. *Sallaway* a poor Grocer, the Kings Remembrancers Office; neither of which, are able to read any one Record in those Offices. *Tho. Scot*, *Lambeth-house*: Sir *Wil. Brereton*, *Croyden-house*. Col. *Harvy*, *Fulham* and *Norwich-houses*. Mr. *Lisle* the Mastership of St. *Crosses*: *Dennis Bonds* 3 Sons, each of them a Place worth 500l. a year, besides many others. All the cheating, covetous, ambitious persons of the Land, are united together under the name and title of *The Godly*, *the Saints*, *&c.* and *share the fat of the Land between them*, few of them *pay any Taxes*, but *all the Land payes Tribute to them*.

4. The Independents divide the Taxes, Spoils, and preferments of the land between them.

It is thought this *Faction*, their *under-Agents* and *Factors* have cost this *Commonwealth* above 20 *millions* never laid forth in any publick service; nay, the *Treasurers* and *Publicans* of this *Faction* have *clipped* and *washed* most of the *Money* that comes into their fingers before they pay it forth, knowing that any *money* that comes out of their fingers will be accepted: *two Gold-smiths* are thought to be *dealers this way*, yet they *lay the blame* on the *Scotish Army*, as the *Cuckow lays her brood in other Nests*.

5. Having thus imped their wings for flight, they have provided themselves of places of retreat in case they cannot make good their standing in *England*: *Ireland* is kept unprovided for, that they may find room in it when necessity drives them thither. If their

5. The Independents provided of places of retreat to flee to.

their hopes fail in *Ireland*, they have *New-England*, *Bermudas*, *Barbadus*, the *Caribby* Isles, the Isle of *Providence*, *Eleutheria*, *Lygonia*, and other places to retreat to, and lay up the spoils of *England* in: nay they usually send *chests* and *vessels with money*, *plate* and *goods* beyond Sea, with *passes* from the *two Speakers to let them passe without searching*: the *Navy* is in their power to accommodate their *flight*, and by their instruments called *Spirits*, they have taken up many Children and sent them before to be *Slaves* and *drudges* to the *Godly* in their *schismatical Plantations*, as the *Turk* takes up *Tribute Children* from the *Christians* to furnish his *nursary* of *Janisaries*; and so they have their *Agents* that buy up all the Gold they can get, *Cromwell* not long since offered 110001. in silver for the 10001. in gold; besides he is well furnished with the Kings Jewels taken in his Cabinet at *Naseby*; many of them known Jewels, as the *Harry* and the *Elizabeth*.

6. The vulgar Independents but props and properties to the Grandees.

6. Nor shall the vulgar sort of *Independents* either in *Parliament*, *Army*, or *City*, fare better than the rest of the *Kingdom*. The *Grandees* both of *Parliament*, and *Army* endevouring to adjourn the *Parliament*, and draw all the power of both Houses into the Committee of *Derby-house*, consisting but of 30. or 40. the rest of the *Independent Members* will find their power dissolved in the Adjournment, and swallowed up by that Committee, and their services forgotten; nor shall they have any power in the *Militia*, which is the only quarrel between them and the King; the *Grandees* disdaining to have so many Partners in that which they have got by their own wits; for know, that the *Grandees* have always been winnowing the Parliament. First, they winnowed out the *moderate men*, under the notion of the *Kings party*, then the *Presbyterians*, and now they will winnow forth the *lighter* and more *chaffy* sort of *Independents*, who stand for the *Liberty of the People*; a thing which *Cromwel* now calleth, *A fancy not to be engaged for*; and so they will bring all power into their own hands. Thus having contracted the *Parliament* into a *Committee of safety*, they will adjourn themselves (though the Parliament cannot) to *Oxford* or some other place which they more confide in than *London*: and this is the *settling the Kingdom without the King*, they so much aim at; and which, they had rather the people should be brought *practically* and by *insensible degrees*, than by *Declarations* held forth to them before-hand, or

by

by *politick Lectures* in the *Pulpit*. Thus it is decreed, that this Cabal of *Godly men* at *Derby-house* shall with *military Aristocracy*, or rather *Oligarchy*, rule this *Nation* with a *rod of Iron*, and break *them in pieces* like a Potters *Vessel*.

Observe, that the *Ordinance* by which the *Committee* of *Derby-house* is revived, and the *addition* of Power to it, are purposely penned in such ambiguous terms, that *He that hath the Sword in his hands may make what construction of them he pleaseth*: neither were they clearly penned, Is it in the *power of the Houses* (being but the *Trustees* of the people) *to transfer or delegate their trust to a lesser number of men? a trust not being transferrable by Law, and the people having chosen a Parliament, not a Committee, to look to their safety and peace.*

7. The *Grandees* of the Parliament and Army have brought the Kingdom to so miserable a condition, that they have left no Authority in *England* able to settle peace: The KING is a close Prisoner to the Army, therefore all he shall do will be clearly void in Law, by reason of *Dures*: The Parliament is in Wardship to them, who keep armed Guards upon them, Garrisons round about them, and by illegal Accusations, Blank Impeachments, threatning Remonstrances, and Declarations, *&c.* fright away many Members, and compell the rest to Vote and un-Vote what they please, whereby all the Parliament doth is void and null in Law *ab initio*, it being no free Parliament, but a Sub-committee to the Army, and living as the *Egyptians* did, under vassalage to their own *Mamaluchi*, or Mercenaries: The people therefore must resolve either to have *no Army*, or *no Peace*.

7. The Army hinder Peace and Settlement.

8. They have put out the eyes of the Kingdom, the two Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, and have brought the whole Land to make sport before them; knowing that *Learning* and *Religion*, as well as *Laws* and *Liberties*, are enemies to their barbarous, irrational, and *Russian* way of Government.

8. The two Universities destroyed.

9. Many honest men took part with this Parliament, seduced by those fair pretences of *defending Religion, Laws* and *Liberties* which they first held forth to the People; and being unwilling to have a *Parliament* conquered by *the Sword*, not thinking it possible that a *prevailing Faction* in Parliament should so far prevaricate as to *conspire to enslave King, Parliament, and Kingdom, to subvert the Laws Liberties, and fundamental Government of the Land*, under

9. Many honest men seduced by fair pretences, took part with them; never intending to leave their first principles, and enslave King, and Kingdom.

under which *they and their Posterity were, and were likely to be so happily governed; and betray Religion unto Hereticks and Schismaticks, and share the spoils of the Commonwealth between them, and think of enriching themselves with them in forein Lands*, yet many at the beginning *much disliked*, that *Religion* should be used an as *ingredient* to the carrying on of a *Civil War*, and that *Schismaticks* should have so great a stroak in managing the business; yet were pacified with this consideration, that we must refuse no helps in our defence: if a man be assaulted by Thieves on the high-way, he will not refuse to joyn with Schismaticks or Turks in a common defence; the same authority that then countenanced those Schismaticks (it was hoped) would be able to discountenance them again when the work was done. But the *Grandees* of the Houses, (having other designs) had so often purged the Houses, that they left few honest moderate men in them to oppose their projects; still bringing in Schismaticks, and men of their own interests, by enforced and undue Elections, into their rooms, and so by insensible degrees, new modelled the House suitable to their own corrupt desires, and new modelled the Army accordingly; so that the people (who had no intention to be interested so far) were step by step so far ingaged before they were aware, that they could not draw their feet back, and do now find (to their grief) that the Bit is in their mouths, the Saddle fast girt on their galled backs, and these Rank riders mounted, who will spur them (not only out of their Estates, Laws, and Liberties, but) into Hell with renewed Treasons, new Oathes, Covenants and Engagements, if they take not the more heed and be not the more resolute: they have changed their old honest principles, and their old friends, who bore the first brunt of the business, and have taken new principles and friends in their room, suitable to their present desperate designs, and now (that they have squeezed what they can out of the Kings party) they think of sequestring their old friends because they adhere to their old principles.

10. Who are the Kings bitterest enemies.

10. Amongst those that are most bitter against the King, His own Servants (especially the *Judasses* of the Committee of the Revenue, that carry His purse, and have fingered more of His Money and Goods than they can or dare give an account for) are the greatest Zealots, those that take upon them imployments about His Revenue, and share what allowances to themselves they please for

for their pains; those that buy in for trifles old sleeping Pensions, that have not been payed nor allowed this thirty years, and pay themselves all arrears; those that Rent parcels of the Kings Revenue, for the eighth or tenth part of the worth, as *Cor. Holland*, who renteth for 200l. *per ann.* as much of his Estate as is worth 1600l. or 1800l. *per annum.* Thus you see the *Lion* (Lord of the Forest) growing *sick and weak*, become a prey, and is *goared* by the *Ox*, *bitten* by the *Dog*, yea, and *kicked* by the *Asse*. Look upon this *president* you *Kings* and *Princes*, and call to mind examples of old, that of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and others, *lest by exalting your selves too high, you provoke God to cast you too low.*

11. Forged Conspiracies and false News.

When the *Grandee Independents* have a desire to *raise new forces*, or *erect new Garrisons*, or use any *extremity against the City*, or *Royal party*, they commonly usher in their design with reporting to the House *the discovery of some new-invented conspiracy*, or *plot full of danger and destruction*; such as was that of *many thousand consecrated Knives*, and then propound their own forelaid *design* as a counsellable way to prevent it; and he that doth not *hastily believe their Informations*, or doth *argue against the remedies they propound*, (though he shew never so great inconveniency in them) is presently cried out upon as a *Malignant*, *that doth not take the danger of the Parliament to heart*, and branded by the *black tongues of the Godly*; and when any *great businesse* is to be *treated of in Parliament*, or *City*, which they either *desire to promote*, or to *obstruct*, they commonly publish *counterfeit News*, and *Letters of great victories and successes* gotten by their *Party* in parts so *remote* that they cannot in a short time be confuted; this serves *to credit* and *animate their Party* to go on *boldly with their worke*, and *to dishearten their Opponents*; and though the profit and reputation of a *lie* is seldom long-lived, yet if it last some few dayes, untill they have *carried on their present businesse*, they care not: herein they imitate a *skilfull Architector*, who building an *Arch*, supports it in the beginning with *circular props*, and *pieces of Timber*, untill he hath closed it, and enabled it to support it self, and then throws away the *props*.

12. The Art of Slander and Calumny.

When they have a design to *ruine any man*, before they fall openly upon his *person*, they *secretly undermine his credit and reputation*, that afterwards *they may oppresse him with applause*, and they are so excellently well fitted with *Agents* and *Instruments* for this purpose, that they can prove what they list. The *close Commit-*

mittee of Examinations is an excellent forge for these *contrivances*; they know where to find the *sonnes of Belial* (now commonly called *Knights of the Post*) who will trust God with their *souls* to advance *the good Cause*; they have *secret Examinations* of several sorts, some *preparatory* only, amounting but to suspicions and presumptions, to wound a mans good name, and make him liable to more deadly blows hereafter; and some *consummatory*, laying the Axe to the root at the first blow: nor is it a small Artifice of theirs boldly to accuse other men of those *crimes* they themselves are *guilty of*, as they did the 11. *Members* of *trucking with the King*, being their own fault; by this means it doth *constare de re* presently, it appears such offences are committed: and if they can but fix them upon the persons of other men by bold *Accusations*, close *Examinations*, and *false Witnesses*, then *constat de persona*, they have found men to personate them, deputies to bear the ignominy and punishment of their sinnes: so some lascivious persons free themselves, bestowing their diseases upon others.

13. What a Confiding man is.

They account no man a *Godly*, *faithfull*, *confiding man*, but he that engages as far in sin, and makes himself as hopeless of reconciliation, as themselves. *Quis nunc diligitur nisi conscius?*

14. The last Retreat and Refuge of the Godly.

Since the *revolt* of some of *their Ships* hath almost made them *hopeless* of *transportation* to *foreign Plantations*, the *schismatical Grandees* have made Col. *Walton* (Brother-in-law to *Cromwel*) Governour of *Lyn*, *Boston*, and *Crowland*, and of all that level of morasse Ground in the Isles of *Ely*, *Holland*, and *Marsland*, which they can lay under water at pleasure: it is a plentifull and strong Fastness, able to feed 40000. men, besides the ordinary Inhabitants; there are but three passes to enter it, over three Bridges, upon which they have, or may build Forts, for their defence, and may from thence invade the adjacent Country at pleasure, being themselves free from incursions; or they may (if they list) break down the said Bridges. These places (already strong by nature) they daily fortifie by art; for which purpose great sums of *money* have been sent to him, and much *Arms*, *Powder*, *Ammunition*, and *Ordnance* from *Windsor Castle*: Here (when all other helps fail) the *Godly mean to take Sanctuary*, this shall be their last *retreat*, from whence they will draw the whole Kingdom *to Parly upon Articles of treaty*, and *enforce their peace from them at last*. These are the *stratagems* of the *Godly*: These are our *Saints*, no where *canonized* but in the *Devils Calendar*.

As

As the Church of *Rome* is never unfurnished with *dormant Articles of Faith* upon all emergent occasions; so the *Grandees* are never unprovided of *dormant Privileges of Parliament* (which they call (by a new canting word) *lex Parliamenti*, in opposition to *lex Terræ*) with these they boulster out their designs. These Privileges were much insisted on in their Impeachments of the Members and Aldermen; and whosoever pleads against them in his own defence, and flies from those Privileges to the known Laws for Sanctuary, is cried out upon for overthrowing the Jurisdiction and Privileges of Parliament, and therefore guilty of Malignancy; thus *John Lylburn* suffers: if he does not plead against them, he laies his head on the block at the mercy of those mercilesse men. This net caught many a Wood-cock, until the said Aldermen and Sir *John Maynard* broke through it, and spoiled the cock-road. 15. Supposititious Privileges of Parliament: see *The History*, sect. 105, 106.

The Grandees of the Parliament and Army have so totally subverted our fundamental Government and Laws, that they have neither Monarchy nor Common-wealth left; *non jam Respublica sed magnum latrocinium est*, we have not so much as a face and shadow of Government remaining; we have a KING *de jure*, but so wholly eclipsed and disabled to perform Acts of Government by his close imprisonment, that (for the present) we have no King *de facto*, and every man doth what seemeth good in his own eyes; we have Magistrates, Judges, and Justices *de facto*, but not being constituted and ordained by any lawfull Authority, nor under any authentical Great Seal according to the Laws of the Land, they are not Magistrates and Judges *de Jure*, so that if we look upon the King our Supreme Governour, our violent Grandees have brought an *Inter-regnum* upon us; If upon our Magistrates, Judges, &c. they have brought a *Justitium* (a totall eclipse of Justice) upon us: It follows then, that both the imperative and coercive power of the King and Magistrates, the legislative power of the Parliament, the judicative power of the Judges and Justices, are all suspended and in *Abeyance*: and like a Watch, when the principal wheels are broken, no part can move to perform its function. *Contzenius* the Jesuit in his *Pol:* saies, *He that will introduce a new Religion, or a new form of Government, must utterly abolish the old, and erect his new Fabrick upon the ruines of it.* You see they have been apt Scholars in this doctrine of the Jesuite this 7 years, which they have spent in Demolishing 16. The confusion this Monarchy is brought unto: see *The History*, sect. 105, & 106.

moliſhing; but what form of Govern nent our Grandees will erect upon the ruines they have made, doth not yet appear, nor how all juſt intereſts, and mens particular Eſtates ſhall be preſerved from being buried under the ruines of this earthquake.

17. The Regal Legiſlative, and Judicative power uſurped.

The King is the only ſupreme Governour of this Realm of *England*, to regulate and protect the people by commanding the Laws to be obſerved and executed, and to this end He (and He alone) beareth not the Sword in vain; yet the KING by himſelf can neither make, repeal, or alter any one Law, without the concurrence of both Houſes of Parliament, the *Legiſlative power* reſiding in all three, and not in any one, or two of the three Eſtates, without the third, and therefore no one or two of them can exclude the other from having a *Negative voice* in paſſing, repealing, or changing of Laws; nor can the King by himſelf, or joyntly with the Lords and Commons judge *what the Law is*, this is the office of the ſworn Judges of the two Benches and Exchequer, who are the known Expoſitors, and Diſpenſers of *Law and Juſtice* in all cauſes brought before them, yea they do declare *by what Law the King governs*, thereby keeping the KING from governing arbitrarily and enſlaving the People. And theſe Judges of the Law have always been authorized by the King; and all legal proceedings have been in his Name, and by his Authority 1200 years before *Magna Charta* granted, or any ſet form of Parliament eſtabliſhed. The Law it ſelf is called, *the Kings Law*; the Realm, *the Kings Realm*. He is the fountain of *juſtice*, *mercy*, *honour*, witneſſe all our Statues, Law-Books and Hiſtories, and the Oaths of Supremacy, which every Member taketh before he ſits in Parliament. Now for any one man, or any Aſſembly, Court, or Corporation of men (be it the two Houſes of Parliament) to uſurp theſe three powers, 1. The *Governing power*, 2. The *Legiſlative power*, 3. And the *Judicative power*, into themſelves, is to make themſelves the higheſt Tyrants, and the people the baſeſt ſlaves in the world; for to govern ſupremely by a Law made, and interpreted by themſelves according to their own pleaſure, what can be more boundleſſe and arbitrary? they may put to death whom they pleaſe for what cauſe they pleaſe, and confiſcate his eſtate to their own uſe; yet this the two Houſes of Parliament, or rather an overpowring party in the two Houſes, ſeaſoned with a Schiſmatical humour of ſingularity, have lately done.

2. For

1. For the *Governing power.* 1. They coyn, enhaunce, and abate money. 2. They make War and peace, and continue an extraordinary Militia of an Army upon us. 3. They declare who are Enemies to the Realm. 4. They maintain forein negotiations. 5. They regulate matter of Trade, and exercise other Regalities: whereas all *Jura Regalia* belong only to the King as Supreme Governour.

2. For the *Legislative power.* They exclude the King from his Negative Voice, and the two Houses obtrude their Ordinances (things so new, that they are not pleadable in any Court of Justice) as Laws upon the people; laying an excise, Assessements, and Taxes upon the People: They Vote and declare new-Treasons, not known by the statute 25 *Edw.* 3. nor by any other known Law; yea even to make or receive any addresse to, or from the King; and they account it a breach of Privilege, if men do not believe it to be Treason, being once declared. They out men of their free-holds, and imprison their Persons, contrary to *Magna Charta*, by Ordinances of Sequestration, &c.

3. For the *Judicative power.* They erect infinite many of new Judicatories under them, as their Committees of complaints, of secret Examinations, of Indempnities; their Country Committees, where businesses are examined, heard, and determined without, nay against *Magna Charta*, and the known Laws: nay even in capital crimes they wave the Courts of Law, and all Legal proceedings by Outlawry, Indictment, or Tryal by *Peers*, and *Bill of Attainder*; (which is the only way of Tryal in Parliament: For the Parliament cannot judicially determine any thing, but by Act of Parliament) and set up new-invented forms of proceeding before the Lords (even against free Commoners, although the Lords be not their Peers) as in the case of the four Aldermen, &c. and the *Arch-bishop of Canterbury*: They defend these doings by a pretended necessity of their own making: but when the King had neither Army nor Garrison in the Kingdom, and thereby this necessity was removed, why did they not (to prevent Tumults, Insurrections, and a new war) content the People, and return all things into their old Chanel, and restore to the people their Religion, Laws, and Liberties, being their first principles, for which they engaged them to spend their blood and treasure, and for defence whereof, they engaged themselves and us in a Covenant, with Hands lifted up to the High God? Why

did

did they then provoke the Scots to a new War? but that they might have occasion to keep up their Army still, and inth all the Kingdom: look upon their Doctrine, as well as their aforesaid practices, and you will find that all they do, is but to carry on a fore-laid design, to lay by the King and enslave the People, under the new erected Kingdom of the Saints: the Grandees of *Derby-house* and the Army. In the Declaration against the *Scots* Papers, *p.* 67. They have adjudged the King unfit to Govern, and *p.* 70. they say, the power of the Militia was the principal cause of their War, and quarrel with the King; and in their Declaration against the King, they say, they cannot confide in Him. It hath been commonly spoken in the House of Commons, that the two Houses, nay, the House of Commons alone, is the Supreme power of this Nation under God. 16. *March*, 1642. Both Houses Voted it a High Breach of Privilege of Parliament, for any Person, (not excepting King or Judge) to oppose their Commands, or to deny that to be Law, which the two Houses declared to be so. In their Declaration against the *Scots* Papers, *p.* 63. The Members say, That in all matters either concerning Church or State, we have no Judge upon Earth but themselves. Who will account the *Popes* pleanude of power monstrous hereafter, that shall observe this Doctrine and practice of Subjects in Parliaments, claiming and exercising a Supreme Government, (whereof the Militia is a part) a Legislative and Judicative power over the Consciences, Lives, Liberties, and estates of their Fellow Subjects: And all this under colour of a necessity, raised by themselves out of a dispute they set on foot against the King, which they have affirmatively adjudged and determine for themselves against Him, without consulting the Laws, Statues, and usages of the Realm; Nay, the very Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, which all with one voice speak against them? Who would think that a faction in Parliament, or any pelt lesse than an Earth-quake or Deluge should in seven years time reduce so well-formed a Common-wealth into such a *Chaos*? Yet even now the People are promised to be governed by the known Laws, and Judges are appointed to determine sutes according to the Laws. Surely, There never was Tyrant that deprived his Vassals of a known Law amongst themselves, this were to disable them to acquire wealth, and so lose his own benefit of Taxes and Confiscations. By the Laws of *England*, a villain was protected in his goods against

all

all men, his Lord excepted: The *Turkish* Vassals heap up much wealth, and are protected against their fellow slaves, though not against their Grand Seigneor who may seize their estates, and take their lives at pleasure: And this is all the protection the people of *England* have now by the Laws. We have the benefit of Law one against another, (unless some Powerfull Member interpose) but against the two Houses, or either of them, or any Grandee, what Law, what Justice can protect our lives, liberties or estates? and yet we were allowed heretofore to make our defence in Law against the King. And until the King be again restored to his Right, expect no better Right to be done you by this heedless head-strong Faction in Parliament.

18. The final scope of the Grandees endeavours.

The summe of all their endeavours is no more but this; The Grandees of *Derby-house* and the Army have already by their Votes of *No Addresses*, and their scandalous Declaration, *laid by the King, and in Him Monarchy*, (notwithstanding they delay and fool the people with tedious debates of a Personall Treaty,) And *when this innovation is digested* by the people, their next step will be to make use of the Schismatical, Antimonarchical party in the House of Commons, Army and City, *to cast off the House of Peers*, as Prerogative creatures and rags of Royalty: (some Schismatical Plebeian Lords excepted, who shall recruit the Power they lose in the House of Lords, by being of the Committee of *Derby-house*) and when the people are well inured to this change, and the grievance of it worn out by custom, then *to lay by the House of Commons, and usurp the full Power of the King and Parliament into the* Committee of safety at *Derby-house*, who by way of preparation, doe already stile themselves in all forein Negotiations, The STATES: Nay they doe already act all matters of moment at home, and assume unto themselves all the properties of a State, the Parliament being but a Sub-Committee to them, upon whom they put what Impositions and Injunctions they please; witnesse the design put upon the House of Commons *for every Member to subscribe what number of Horse he would maintain for a Guard*; I know not whether to the Parliament, or to the Committee of *Derby-house*.

19. The Prognostick of this Disease.

This disease being now come to its *Crisis*, it is no hard matter to pronosticat, That nature (that is, the King, our natural liege Lord) must inevitably prevail at last against this Antimonarchical Faction, for these reasons.

The

1. The King can never want a Party: the Parliament (or rather Antimonarchical faction in Parliament) can never manage a party without faction and confusion.

2. The King may husband his treasure to His best advantage: the faction in Parliament cannot, but must necessarily be cheated; that they may be followed and befriended: since only common crimes, and common profit glues and cements them together; and only such are found to be confiding men to them.

3. The King is now discovered, (to every common capacity) to have all the known Laws on His side: the Parliament all known Laws against them, and the people will no longer be governed without Law, by new Arbitrary inventions.

4. The King hath recovered all the peoples affections: the Parliament hath lost them; a privation which can never be reduced into habit again.

5. The King is allyed both in Consanguinity of Blood, and affinity of Cause with all the Princes of Christendom: the faction in Parliament are *terræ filii, faterculi Giganteum*, Mushromes.

6. The Kings Army will obey Him and His Interest: the Parliaments Army will command them and their Interests; besides, they are men of different Principles and Interests, only held together by profit; and when that fails, they fall in sunder.

Nothing therefore but a free *Personal Treaty* in *London* can prevent a Conquest, whatsoever desperate forlorn people say to the contrary.

The Epilogue.

I Am not Ignorant that there is a natural purging, a natural phlebotomy, belonging to Politique, as well as to Natural bodies; and that some good humors are always evacuated with the bad; yet I cannot but deplore what I have observed, That the honestest and justest men on both sides (such as, if they have done evil, did it because they thought it good; such as were carried aside with specious pretences, and many of them seduced by Pulpit-devils, who transformed themselves into Angels of light) have always fared worse than other

men,

men, as if this difference between the King and Parliament were but a ſyncretiſmus or illuſion againſt honeſt men: nay, I do further foreſee, that in the period and cloſing up of this Tragedy, they will fare worſt of all, becauſe they have not taken a liberty to inrich themſelves with publique ſpoils, and fat themſelves by eating out the bowels of their mother, but are grown lean and poor by their integrity; whereby being diſabled to buy friendſhip in the dayes of Trouble, they will be put upon it to pay other mens reckonings. When Verres was Prator of Sicily, he had with wonderfull corruptions pillaged that Province; and at the ſame time the Prator of Sardinia being ſentenced for depeculating and Robbing that Province, Timarchides, Verres Correſpondent at Rome, writ a very anxious Letter to him, giving him warning of it: But Vertes in a jolly humour anſwered him, That the Prætor of Sardinia was a fool, and had extorted no more from the Sardinians than would ſerve his own turn; but himſelf had gathered up ſuch rich booties amongſt the Sicilians, that the very overplus thereof would dazle the eyes of the Senate, and blind them ſo, that they ſhould not ſee his faults: Such (I foreſee) will be the lot of the more juſt and modeſt men, who ſhall be guilty becauſe they were fools, as the other ſort ſhall be innocent becauſe they were knaves. Whatſoever befalls (you clear and innoxious ſoules) be not aſhamed, be not affraid of your integrity: if this Kingdom be a fit habitation for honeſt men, God will provide you a habitation here: if it be not capable of honeſty, God will take you away from the evils to come, and pour out all the Vials of his wrath on this totally and univerſally corrupted Nation, this incurable people, Qui nec vitia ſua nec eorum remedia ferre poteſt: for my own part, (if I am not ſuch already) I hope God will make me ſuch a man, Quem neque paupertas, neque mors, neque vincula terrent; and as Moſes in an heroick zeal, to draw a remiſſion of the peoples ſin from God, deſired to be blotted out of his Book, (the Book of Life) and St. Paul to be Anathema for his Brethren; why ſhould not I (with relation to my ſelf, and ſubmiſſion to Chriſt) ſay, oportet unum mori pro populo, it is fit one man die for the people, and devote my ſelf to death for my Country, as the family of the Decii in ancient Rome were wont to do? I have read and admired their examples, why not imitate them? is it becauſe (as Machiavel ſaith) The Chriſtian Religion doth too much break, enfeeble, and cowardiſe the ſpirit of man, by perſecuting and ſubduing nature, by denying her due Liberty, and tying her to be more paſſive than active? At facere & pati fortia Romanum,

imo Christianum est; *or is it because in this generall deluge of sinne and corruption, a publique spirit, and excellency in virtue is accounted a degree of madnesse? or is it because of the corrupt judgement of these times, which makes a man more infamous for his punishment than for his sin? and therefore Heroick acts are out of fashion: the circumstances and ceremonies of Death are more taken notice of, than Death it self; these follies weigh not with me.* Subiit nis an humi putrescam, parvi refert. *The Theef upon the Crosse found a ready way to Heaven, How much more an honest man? Many a man out of Prison steps into Heaven, no man out of Paradise ever found the way thither:* Salebrosa sit via, modo certa modo expedita; alte succinctus ad iter me accingo.

THe Premises considered, I do here in the name and behalf of all the free Commons of *England* declare and protest, that there is no free nor legal *Parliament* sitting in *England*, but that the two Houses sit under a visible, actual and an horrid force of a mutinous *Army*, and of a small party of both Houses consenting and engaged with the *Army*, to destroy, expell, and murder with false Accusations, and Blank and Illegal Impeachments and prosecutions, the rest of their fellow Members, who sate in *Parliament* doing their duty; when the two Speakers with a small company of Members, secretly fled away to the *Army*, and sate in Council with them, contriving how to enslave *King*, *Parliament*, *City*, and *Kingdom*, and how to raise Taxes at their pleasure, which they share amongst themselves and their party, under the name and title of *the Godly*, *the Saints*; and afterwards they brought the *Army* up to *London* against the *Parliament* and *City* in hostile manner, a design far exceeding the Plot of *Jermine*, *Goring*, &c. to bring up the *Northern Army* to London, *to over-awe the Parliament*: I do further protest, that the two Houses have sate under the said force, ever since the sixth of *August* 1647. and therefore all they have done, and all they shall do, in the condition they sit in, is void and null in Law, *ab initio*, by their own doctrine and judgement included in their Ordinance of the 20. of *August* last, whereby they *null* and void, *ab initio*, all Votes, Orders, &c. passed from the 26. *July*, 1647. to the 6. *August* following.

Arguments

Arguments against all accommodation and Treaties, between the City of LONDON, *and the ingaged Grandees of the Parliament and Army.*

1. *IT will never be safe nor honourable, for so great a City to accommodate and joyn interest with a conspiring Party, that by frequent violations of their faith and duty, have inslaved King, Parliament, City and Kingdom, and broken the Faith of this Nation, given to the Scots in the large Treaties, and in the National Covenant.*

2. *By accommodating with them, you make all their crimes your own, their subtilty being to involve you to joyn with them in defence of their crimes.*

3. *The Scottish quarrel is not against the English Nation, but against the treacherous and hypocritical Grandees, who by perjuring themselves, and falsifying their ingagements both unto Kingdom and Army, keeping the Souldiers by false suggestions from disbanding, and totally obstructing* Irelands *relief; and also a conspiring party in Parliament, who keep them up to make good the aforesaid crimes, forcing what Votes they please to passe, by over-awing the Parliament: Witnesse* Cromwels *laying his hand upon his Sword, and forcing the House to passe those traiterous Votes against the King, contrary to their own Consciences, Allegiance, Protestations, Vow and Covenant, and to raise Taxes upon the people, which they share among themselves. This war is not like to be of any continuance, considering there being in the Army many conscientious men, who have had such ample experiment of the falshood of their Grand Officers, that they are not like to hazard their lives again under the command of such Grand Impostors as they are, also knowing the General hatred of the Kingdoms to them, under whose insupportable burthens and oppressions it groaneth. Nor have we any way to break the power of the said Grandees of this Army but by the Scots, whereby the just rights and Interests of all the three Kingdoms may be setled, and* Ireland *relieved; All which the Scots have declared in their former Papers delivered to both Houses of Parliament.*

4. *If you accommodate with this faction, you must have the same friends and foes with them, as well as the same sins and quarrels; and then it will grow to a Nationall quarrel between* England *and* Scotland, *which will be of long continuance and misery: and the Interest of the King and his Children, and of all Princes of Christendom concerned*

cerned in the example, will be carried on in the Kingdom of Scotland *against you, if you joyn with those beggarly Grandees, who have inriched themselves, and their fellow-Impostors, by the ruines of the Kingdom. You will lose your credit and interests with your freinds and brethren of* Scotland; *the only fear and terror of whose coming into* England *kept this Faction (which all men know is never satisfied with money and blood) from taking many of your innocent heads from off your shoulders, and confiscating your Estates to pay the arrears of the Army: witnesse their often speeches to this purpose in the house of Commons, and their illegal and violent proceedings against you: you will likewise lose all the people of* England.

I have shewed you your losses, let me shew you your gains by this accommodation, that by comparing one with the other, you may cast up your account whether you shall be gainers or losers by it.

1. *They offer you the Tower of* London, *and your Militia to be restored (things of no great consideration) and your Aldermen and Citizens to be set at liberty: they do not offer to disband their Army, which makes them Lord it over you, and over-power both Tower and Militia; and when they have divided you from all your friends, and destroyed your reputation, and are secure from the Scots, the same violence which at first took your Tower, your Militia and your most honest Citizens from you, can deprive you of them all again at pleasure, when you shall have none to stick by you: your obligation to them shall be of steel, theirs to you but of straw, he that gives me that he can deprive me of at pleasure, gives me nothing.*

2. Cromwell *and his party knew your City to be the entire strength of* England. *In* Rich. 2. *dayes (when it was not half so great and populous as now) it slew* Wat Tyler *and routed his rabble, six times as many in number as the Army. They therefore fear you, and consequently hate you, and labour nothing more than to divide and weaken you, which is their proper interest: For which purpose (to divide the City in it self) they caused the Parliament to change your Militia into other hands: they cut off* Westminster, Southwark, *and the* Hamlets *from your Militia, to weaken it; they have divided you from the Parliament, they have endeavoured to divide the Countrey from you,* Ut dividendo singula imperent universis. *Wherefore the Army in their Remonstrance 7. December 1647. Insolently demand Reparations from the City to the Countrey adjacent, for above 100000l. losse sustained through the Armies attendance on the Cities defaults; which was a device only to make the Countrey*

quarrel

quarrell with the City, and to make the Army Umpiers.

3. *Consider you shall joyn with them that never kept Faith longer than they may gain by it, whereof you have many examples. Any honest man may be deceived once, but he is a fool that will be deceived twice by one man.*

4. *Nay you cannot treat with these men, nor give them a Common Council, or Hall, without losse and danger: they have always made lies their refuge, and built their Designs upon the sandy foundations of Rumors and Fables.*

Cromwel and Glover *already give out, that they and you are as good as agreed, that you differ only upon a punctilio of honour, which will soon be reconciled: what is the meaning of this? but that they (having creatures of their own, Commissioners in* Scotland) *have advertisement to spread the same reports there, thereby to take off the edge of your friends affections; to lay an imputation of inconstancy upon you, and make you inconsiderable in the judgements of your best friends, and retard all indeavours for your succour. In the mean time, this party hath blocked up all passages to* Scotland, *that truth can have no accesse to you, and you have only such news as* Derby-house *doth please to impart to you. These men have committed those crimes that cannot be safe without committing greater: they must on headlong: go not with them for company, they desire to bestow their plague-sores upon others. Let it not trouble you, that the Parliament hath approved their subscription of the Ingagement, with the Army; it was a Vote extorted in a thin house, many Members having been driven away by threats of the Army before, and there were many dissenting Members. A little patience and constancy will settle you in a lasting peace.*

To petition the Houses to repeal their four Votes against the King, is to save their reputation, that seek to destroy yours.

A seasonable Caution to the City of London.

Gentlemen of the City.

YOur Neighbours of *Kent*, and other Counties wishing well to them, take it unkindly, that (notwithstanding all these former admonitions) you should let down your chains, and give a free march to this bloody, cheating, schismatical Army at all houts of the night through your City, to cut their throats, and lend

lend them 6000l. to enable them to march: when they had no other design, but in a peaceable way to deliver a Petition to the Houses, demanding nothing but what the Parliament by their Declarations, Covenant, the Oaths of Supremacy and allegiance, and the known Laws of the Land ought to grant: Onely, being fore-warned by the inhumane assassination of the *Surrey* Petitioners, they had some men in Armes, a sufficient distance from the Town, to secure their Messengers. They have by their Letters to your selves and the Houses manifested the clearnesse of their intentions to you all. They are known to be men of setled habitations and fortunes (for the most part) not vagabonds and Souldiers of Fortune like the Army. Their commerce with you help you both to trade and feed: whereas the Armies insolent march in triumph through your City, so far lessened your reputation ever since, that you constantly lose in your trading 200000l. a Week, and no Bullion comes into the Mint; whereby multitudes of you are undone, and yet the Armies Arrears, and all other Taxes are exacted from you with as much cruelty, as you lost nothing.

Remember that Butchery committed upon the unarmed Apprentices, when *Cromwel* cried to the Souldiers *to kill man, woman, and child, and fire the City*: at which time his Nose looked as prodigiously upon you as a Comet.

Remember the scorn put upon you by a Grandee when you were enabled to put up your Chains again; That the House had consented your Posts should have Chains as well as your Aldermen, and did as well deserve them. And *Weaver's* word when your Guards came to attend the House, *that 60 of the Army should beat 3000 of them.*

Remember how unwillingly and juglingly they restored unto you the *Tower* (first plundered of all its ammunition you formerly had in it) and part only of your *Militia*, and that clogged with many restrictions: they that bestow gifts so grudgingly upon you when they are weak, will deprive you of them again when they are strong. Adversity makes them your false friends, Prosperity your real Enemies, Necessity only ties them to you: have a care therefore you do not relieve their necessities, lest you lose them; like the frozen Snake in the bosome, when they grow warm they will bite and sting.

You seem to have forgotten the unjust imprisonment of your Aldermen; the unfaithfulnesse and inconstancy of their Votes; and

and Ordinances, even for security of Money, and Land bought; the several Informations and Testimonies you had of their good intentions to borrow more of your Money, not by way of Loan, nor us, on the Publique Faith, but by way of plunder. Notwithstanding all these injuries, and many more, (as if God had infatuated you, to destroy you) you suffer a corrupt Faction within you to List men (to the amazement of your neighbour Countries) whose principles you first examine; and if they be not *Independents*, you trust them not with Arms. I hear of a young man, who being asked, *of what principles he was?* he answered, *That in these doubtfull times he professed no principles but gain*: to whom was replied, *then we are of one principle, for we are resolved to keep what we have got.* Behold the Principle of these men that obstruct our peace! consider that Heaven and Earth have denounced war against these men, and that God himself hath touched the hearts of all men as one man to rise against them, and demand to have Peace, Religion, and Justice restored. When the whole Kingdom shall rise in a flame, what will be your lot, but smoak in your eyes, and at last a consuming fire in your bowels? when you only shall be left to maintain this domineering Army with your money, and to recruit them with your blood? many of their Officers say already, *That the Country is exhausted of Money, and you shall be their purse-bearers*: but because you are a curst Cow, they must keep the *Army* about you, that the Souldiers may hold you by the *horns* whilst their friends milk you.

Consider how absolute a necessity, and how general a resolution there is, that all things should return to their old channel: If you stop the violence of this Torrent, it will swell untill it overwhelm and drown you. You that are guiltless, joyn not with the guilty; you that are guilty sin no more; there will be mercy for you if you repent, and amend in time. The very multitude of offenders will not excuse your offences; let not despair hurry you from one sin to another until you fall into destruction, as it did *Judas*, whose Despair (by all Divines) is held to be a greater impiety than his Treachery; by the first, he sinned against the God-head of Christ, by the second against his Manhood only.

The

The Remonstrance and Declaration of the Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, and Freeholders in COLCHESTER.

PEtitions (the birth-right of Subjects) are by Law our addresses to our King, (Gods Vicegerent) *by custom our approaches to the Houses of Parliament, (His Majesties great Council,) by them we used humbly to present our modest desires, and were wont to receive answers (as* Gideons *fleece the dew) without noise, yet satisfactory; but that was denied our first Petition, and before our second could be ready, our brethren of* Surrey *by theirs ecchoed our prayer to both Houses of Parliament, but received their answer,* (as the Jews their Law) *in thunder and lightning, a two-edged sword the tongue, and the report of Muskets the voice, which spake nothing but wounds and death.*

We *therefore thus admonished, resolved thus to present our grievances to the World, and our Petitions to Heaven, for a blessing upon our intended indeavours.*

Our grievances are these:

1. *First, the distraction and threatned ruine of our glorious* Protestant Church, *the neglect and abuse of* Religion, *the destruction of our* Universities (*the springs of all Learning, Divine and Humane*) *occasioned by the fierce and ignorant Separatists, set up and maintained as Rulers both in Church and State, by the prevalency and violence of a rebellious and destructive Army, under the command of the L.* Fairfax, *and countenanced by the seeming Authority of a pack, unfree, and over-awed House of Parliament.*

2. *Next, that contrary to the Oath and duty of Allegiance (from which no power can, nor yet hath pretended to absolve us) our Soveraign Lord the King is by the design of the said Army, drawn from His House at* Hampton Court *to the* Isle of Wight, *and there by the power of* Col. Hammond *and others of the Army, Imprisoned, and detained from His Parliament; by which act the said* Hammond, *and all adhering to him, are according to the Votes passed in both Houses,* 16. March, 1641. Enemies to the peace of the Kingdom.

3. *A third, is the violent and unchristian separation of the* King, His Royal Consort and Children, *at once depriving His Majesty of the two first blessings bestowed on Man.*

4. *The*

4. *The forcing the* Queen *and* Prince *of* Wales, *to seek in a forein Nation, what in their own they could not enjoy,* liberty, *safety, and* support.

5. *The exercise of* Martial Law *while the Courts of Justice are open, and sitting at* Westminster, *the obstructing justice in our Courts of Judicature, and by the privat Committee of Indemnity perverting judgment, and exercising arbitrary power, which is a* subversion *of our antient Laws, and an introduction of a* tyrannical government, *as was resolved by both Houses in the case of the E. of* Strafford, *and Archb. of* Canterbury, *and writ in their blood.*

6. *Sixtly, the present mischief and future danger to the whole Kingdom, by reason that the publique affairs of highest concern, are managed and carried on by a few particular men in a private Committee at* Derby-house, *wherein (contrary to the self-denying Ordinance) the prime actors are chief Officers of the Army, and have by our unhappy differences, possest themselves of the most beneficial offices and imployments of the Kingdom; and the other Places of profit and commodity, are by their design conferred on others, Members of the Army and Houses of Parliament, to purchase their compliance and Votes in all matters agitated in the Houses of Parliament: by reason whereof all motions* for His Majesties return to his Parliament *(the first step to our desired Peace) have been either totally rejected, or by them politickly delayed, because Peace would determine both their* power *and* profit.

7. *The* Estates of Delinquents, *the* Lands of Bishops, Deans and Chapters, *(designed by several Ordinances for discharge of* publique Debts) *are by the Houses and power of the Army shared and divided amongst themselves, while the* publique debts *be unsatisfied, the common Souldier unpayed, the maimed unrelieved, the Widdows and Children of the slain unprovided for, and all left burdens to the Commonwealth.*

8. *That the Army consisting of mean, ignorant and illiterate men, (only gilt with hypocrisie, divine and civil) under pretence of* tender Consciences *(the better to induce and tolerate all Heresies) have expelled and suppresst all* learned Orthodox Divines, and Church Government, *and crying* Liberty, Liberty, *have subjected our Persons and Estates to arbitrary Law and tyranny; and by Rape imbracing the* Legislative power, *cuckolds the* body Politick, *giving Laws to the* whole Kingdom, *and yet by* Petitions *and* Remonstrances

make both Houses father *(as their own) the* adulterous issue.

9. *That this Army assuming to themselves the modelling and settlement both of Church and State, at* Windsor *in* April *last, in their Council did consult these* 3. *Questions.*

First, Whether shall we joyn with the Levellers, and new model both Church and State?

Next, Whether with the moderate Party, Treat, and receive the KING with more qualified and limited Power?

Thirdly, Whether Depose the KING, Dis-inherit the PRINCE, Crown the DUKE of YORK, and appoint a Protector?

The first was held to promise most of liberty *and* profit; *but threatned greatest* danger in effecting, *and* difficulty in continuing.

The second was said to be easiest obtained *and* continued, *because nighest to the present frame and constitution already setled; but would bring them* little of profit, *and* less of Sovereignty.

The third (like Benjamin, *last in birth, but first in the Parents affections) was held* not difficult to be acted, *but to be* maintained; *for it would require both the expence of much blood and money, and the King one to re-act* York *and* Lancaster, *under the names of* Wales *and* York.

To this Lieut. Gen. Cromwel *answered*, It was the better, for that would necessitate the continuance of our Army, which secures our persons, will enforce our reasons, make just our demands, and facilitate their grant; For the blood, that will flow from the cheapveins of Common Souldiers, whereof *England* hath plenty, and we will not want; For the money, *London* is our bank, and from their Purses it shall drain to our Coffers.

Commissary Ireton, *Lt. Gen.* Cromwel's *Son-in-law, said*, The work was half done; for we have already Voted *no Addresses to be made to the King*, and Him guilty of crimes enough to Depose Him, and by Imprisoning His Person, have fitted Him for a private life, and by it taught the people that He is subject to the dispose of both Houses of Parliament, whose Ordinances are only powerful by *our Swords*, and therefore our Actions shall be legal by their Vote. Further, the *Prince* (said he) is link'd with his Father in crime, and therefore cannot be severed in punishment, he hath been General in a Western Army, warring

(as

(as his Father) against the Parliament, a crime that as it rendred the Father fit to be Deposed, so doth it the Son unfit to succeed in the Government. And that the descent of the Crown purge not him, (as it did *Hen.* 7.) let us in the Fathers life time Crown the *Duke of York*, now in our power, whose tender years have preserved him innocent, and presents him fitter for protection and our design, and should any blame our severity towards the *King* and *Prince*, others will commend our clemency towards the *Duke of York*.

Upon the result of this Council, L. Gen. Cromwel *in the House of Commons, tels Mr. Speaker,* That it was time to set on foot our great design, and that such as should not concur in Votes with us, be not continued of us.

The motion being mis-timed, and divers of his party absent, it was only wondred at by Master Knightly, *and died with the words. The Scene now alters from* Westminster *to* Carisbrook-Castle, *and the King that could not be removed by* Votes, *must now by* Poyson, *the Allow Col.* Hammond, *Major* Rolf, *&c. all Members of the Army: yet must we by cursed* Excise *that insensibly devours the poor, by insupportable* Monthly Taxes *that impoverish the rich, contrary to Law and our Allegiance, contrary to our Protestation and Covenant (inforced upon us) we must traiterously maintain and pay this Army that traiterously contrive and endeavour the deposal and murder of our Soveraign Lord the King, the subversion of our Protestant Church, our Fundamental and known Laws.*

We therefore declare to the World, that God blessing us, we will with hazard of our lives and fortunes, disband and dissipate this Army, the Suppressors of the pure Protestant Religion, *the Imprisoners, and would be the Murtherers of their Soveraign Lord the King, and grand Oppressors of the Common-wealth; then free from Imprisonment our said Soveraign, and him (God-willing) restore to his lawfull* Government, Just Rights, and Throne in Parliament; *this done, we shall joyfully and readily deposite our justly assumed Arms, and on our knees beg what his Majesty hath often most graciously offered, and will undoubtedly grant, his most Royal and gracious pardon to all his mis-led Subjects, will return to their Allegiance, and forward to* bring the King back to his own house.

We therefore hereby earnestly desire and request all loyal and well-affected Subjects as well Members of both Houses of Parliament as

others, to be herein aiding and assisting to us. First, by not recruiting the Forces of the Lord Fairfax. *Next, by withdrawing all aid and assistance from his Army, by with-holding* Excise *and* Monthly Taxes *allotted for their pay and support, and to give us with their prayers such assistance as their Allegiance and opportunity shall advise; and we trust that the God that judgeth righteously will crown our loyal action with happy successe, and our successe with a glorious peace, which is heartily prayed for, and shall (God willing) be resolutely fought for by us, His Majesties loyal and faithfull Subjects in* Colchester.

A List of the Names of the Members of the House of Commons, Observing which are Officers of the Army, contrary to the self-denying Ordinance: Together with such summes of Money, Offices, and Lands, as they have given to themselves for service done and to be done, against the KING and Kingdom. Corrected and augmented.

Note, *Reader*, that such as have this mark [*] comming immediately before their Names, are Recruiters, illegally elected, by colour of the new Seal, the power of the Army, and voices of the Souldiers, and are unduly returned, and serve accordingly.

The first Century.

1. *William Lenthall*, Speaker of the House of Commons worth 2000l. *per an.* besides rewards for courtesies; (not to say Bribes) Master of the Rolls, worth 3000l. *per an.* beside the sale of Offices: Chamberlain of *Chester* in the Earl of *Darbies* place, And until of late *Chancellor* of the Dutchey of *Lancaster*, worth 1230l. *per an.* and one of the Commissioners of their great Seal, worth 1500l. *per an.* and had 6000l. given him at one time by the House.

2. *Bulstrode Whitlock*, Commissioner of the great Seal, worth 1500l. *per an.* and had 2000l. given him out of Mr *George Minn's* estate.

3. *Edmund Prideaux*, formerly a Commissioner for the great Seal,

Seal, worth 1500l. *per an.* Now by Ordinance practices within the Bar, as one of the Kings Councel; worth 500l. *per an.* and is Postmaster for all Inland Letters; worth 100l. every Tuesday night beside his supper, and it was thus got: The Lord *Stanhop*, the Postmasters and Carriers of *England* complained in Parliament, against Mr. *Witherings* and others, touching the carrying of Letters, whereupon the benefit of forein Letters were given to the Earl of *Warwick*; worth 5000l. *per an.* and the Inland Letters to Mr. *Prideaux*: *good Parliament Justice.*

4. *Roger Hill*, a Barrester of the Temple, in no practice, not of a considerable estate, till this Parliament, hath now from the House the Bishop of *Winchesters* Mannor of *Taunton Dean*, being the best of *England*; and worth 1200l. *per an.* when the estates for lives determine.

5. *Humphrey Salway*, the Kings Remembrancer in Mr. *Fanshaw's* place; worth 200l. *per an.*

6. *Francis Rous*, Provost of *Eaton*, in Dr. *Stewards* place; worth 600l. *per annum*, and hath got a College Lease worth 600l. *per annum.*

7. *John Liste*, Barrester of the Temple, Master of St. *Crosses* in Dr. *Lewes* his place, being a place for a Divine; and worth 800l. *per annum.*

8. *Oliver St. John*, by Ordinance both Attorney and Solicitor to the King, worth what he please to make it; and hath the passing of all Pardons upon Commissions, worth 40000l.

9. Sir *William Allison*, Alderman of *York*, Clerk of the Hamper, worth 1000 *per an.* he hath *Crabb-Castle*; worth 600l. *per an.* Sometimes the Bishop of *Yorks* in *York-shire.*

10. *Thomas Hoile*, Alderman of *York*, Treasurers Remembrancer in the Exchequer, in Sir *Peter Osburn's* place, worth 1200l. *per annum.*

11. *Thomas Pury* Senior, first a Weaver in *Glocester*, then an ignorant Countrey Solicitor, had 3000l. given him, and Mr. *Gerrards* place in the Petty-bag, worth 400l. *per an.*

12. *Thomas Pury* Junior, Son to the Elder, Receiver of the Kings Rents in *Glocester* and *Wilts*, Clerk of the Peace of *Glocester-shire*, worth 200l. *per an.* and Captain of Foot and Horse, the first year of this Parliament, servant to Mr. *Towneshead*, an Attorney of *Staple Inne.*

13. *William*

13. *William Ellis*, Steward of *Stepney*, worth 200l. *per an.* and by him sold to one of the Temple.

14. *Miles Corbet*, at the beginning of the Parliament 3000l. in debt for himself and his Mother, more than he was worth: now one of the Registers in Chancery, worth 700l. *per an.* besides Chair-man for scandalous Ministers, worth 1000l. *per an.* And hath money in his purse.

15. *John Goodwyne*, the other Register in Chancery, worth 700l. *per annum.*

16. Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, a Commissioner of the great Seal, worth 1500l. *per an.*

17. *Edward Bisse*, Garter Herauld, in Sir *Edward Walkers* place, worth 600l. *per an.*

18. * *Walter Strickland*, Agent in Holland for the two Houses of Parliament, worth to him 500l.

19. *Nicholas Love*, Mr. Speakers Chamber-fellow, one of the six Clerks in Chancery, in Mr. *Penruddocks* place; worth 2000l. *per annum.*

20. Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, much in debt before the Parliament, pay-master to the Army, and had 3d. *per* pound allowed, besides Gratuities, worth 6000l. and now Chancellor of the Dutchey, worth 1200. *per an.*

21. *Gilbert Gerrard*, his second son, Clerk of the Dutchey, and for whose benefit the Clerk-ship of the Assize in *Norfolk*, is granted to Mr. *Edward Garret* his Cozen by the procurement of Sir *Gilbert*, and is worth 500l. *per an.*

22. *John Selden*, had given him 5000l. of which he received 2500l. pound.

23. * *John Bond*, (Son to *Dennis Bond*, a Parliament man) made Master of Trinity-Hall in *Cambridge*, which Mr. *Selden* refused to accept of.

24. Sir *Benjamin Rudiard*, given him 5000l. *And hath he not deserved it?*

25. * *Lucas Hodges*, Customer of *Bristol.*

26. Sir *John Hipsley*, hath the keeping of three of the Kings Parks, *Mary-bone*-Park, that was Mr. *Carewes*, *Hampton*-Park, and *Busby*-Park, and given him 2000l. in Money.

27. Sir *Thomas Walsingham*, the Honour of *Eltham*, that was the Earl of *Dorsets*, the middle-Park and house, which was Master

Whites

Whites, and hath cut down 4000. Timber Trees:

28. *Benjamine Valentine*, given him 5000l.

29. * Sir *Henry Heyman*, given him 5000l.

30. *Denzell Hollis*, given him 5000l.

31 * *Nath. Bacon*, given him 3000l.

32. * *John Steevens*, given him out of the Lord *Astley*'s Composition 1000l.

33. * *Henry Smith*, made one of the six Clerks; worth 2000l. *per annum.*

34. *Robert Reynolds*, had 2000l. given him; Besides *Abingdon-Hall*, and the Lands, worth 400l. *per annum.* Hath bought a good penny-worth of Bishops Lands, hath 20000l. beyond Sea, as he made appear upon his Mariage.

35. Sir *John Clotworthy*, Treasurer for *Ireland*, and by the Army charged with defrauding of the State of 40000l. which may be one reason the King could never get an Account of the monies raised for the *Irish*, though he desired it.

36. *John Asse*, given him out of Mr. *John Corventry*'s Composition 4000l. out of Sir *Edward Mosely*'s 1000l. out of Mr. *Edw. Philip*'s 1200l. out of Sir *John Powel*'s estate 8000l. And (which is worth all this) is the great Chairman at Goldsmiths Hall. *Is not this better than clothing?*

37. * *John Lenthall*, son to the Speaker, made one of the six Clerks, worth 2000l. *per annum.*

38. * *Francis Allen*, a poor Goldsmith at St. *Dunstans* in *Fleet-street*, now made a Customer for *London*. In honour of whom clipped moneys are called (*Allens.*)

39. *Giles Green*, the Reciver of *York-shire*, being put out of his place, got it for his Son-in-Law, is Chair-man for the Navy, and for Sir *Thomas Daws* his estate, and what it was worth to him, Sir *Thomas Daws* his Creditors will tell you; for they got nothing.

40. *Francis Pierpoint* hath the Arch-bishop of *York*'s Lands, lying in *Nottingham-shire*.

41. *William Pierpoint* hath 7000l. given him, and all the Earl of *Kingston*'s personal Estate, worth 40000l.

42. * *John Palmer*, Mr. of *All-Souls* in *Oxford*, in Doctor *Sheldon*'s place, a Divine.

43. * *John Blackeston*, a poor shop-keeper in *Newcastle*, was

Exe-

Executor to the Executor of Sir *John Eeaver*, trusted with 6000l. for Charitable uses, and was sued in Chancery to perform the trust; but got himself returned a Burgess for *New-Castle* by the *Scots* Garrison there; had 3000l. given him out of one Gentlemans Composition, and out of others as much as made it up 12000l. as was made appear at a Committee before Mr. *Sandis* of the Temple Chair-man; hath also a Cole-meeter's place worth 200l. *per annum*, and the Bishop of *Durham*'s Castle at *Durham*, and Lands of great value.

44. *Tho. Ceely*, long a Prisoner for debt, helped out by the Parliament, and made Recorder of *Bridgewater*.

45. * *Thomas Moor*, an Officer in the Custom-house, and his brother Governor of *Ludlow*.

46. * *Scawine*, given him 2000l.

47. *Isaac Pennington*, twice broke; once Lieutenant of the Tower; a year and a half Lord Mayor of *London* before his time; had 7000l. given him, and hath store of Bishops Lands.

48. *Samuel Vassel* given him 1000l.

49. *Oliver Cromwel* Leiut. Gen. hath 2500l. *per an.* given him out of the Marquess of *Worcesters* Estate, for which 4000l. *per an.* is set out at the rate of 2500l.

50. Sir *Wil. Brereton*, Col. Gen. for the *Cheshire* Forces, hath *Cashobery*, and other Lands of the L. *Capels* worth 2000l. *per an.* and the Archbishops house and Lands at *Croiden*, where he hath turned the Chappel into a Kitchin. *A goodly Reformation, and fit with his stomack as well as his Religion.*

51. * *Thomas Waite*, Collonel, Governour of *Burley*, where he thrives so well, as he is now buying 500l. *per an.* who before was not able to buy 5l. a year.

52. Sir *Oliver Luke*, decayed in his Estate, Collonel of Horse.

53. Sir *Samuel Luke* his Son, Collonel, and Scout-master for the Counties of *Bedford*, &c.

54. * *Thomas Gell*, Leiut. Col. to Sir *John Gell*, made Recorder of *Derby*, in Mr. *Allistrie*'s place.

55. *Valentine Walton*, Collonel, and Governour of *Lin Regis*.

56. * *Richard Norton*, Collonel, Governour of *Southampton*.

57. * *Edward Harvy*, late a poor Silk-man, now Col. and hath got the Bishop of *London*'s House and Mannor of *Fulham*.

58. *Edward Rossiter*, Collonel, and Generall of all the *Lin-*

Lincolnshire Forces, and Governour of *Belvoy* Castle.

59. * Sir *Michael Livesey*, Col. Sequestrator, and Plunder-master General of *Kent*.

60. * *Henry Ireton* (son in Law to Lieutenant General *Cromwel*) Colonel, and Commissary General.

61. * *Richard Salway*, Col. formerly a Grocer's man.

62. * *John Birch*, formerly a Carrier, now a Colonel.

63. * *Thomas Rainsborough*, a Skipper of *Lin*, Col. Governour of *Woodstock*, and Vice-Admiral of *England*.

64. * *Robert Blake*, Col. Governour of *Taunton*.

65. * *Francis Russel*, Colonel.

66. * *Rowland Wilson*, Colonel.

67. * *Robert Harley*, Col. son to Sir *Robert Harley*.

68. * *Richard Brown*, Major General, and Governour of *Abingdon*.

69. * *Peter Temple*, Captain of a Troop of Horse.

70. * *John Ven*, Colonel, Governour of *Windsor*, had 4000l. given him.

71. * *Algernon Sidney*, Governour of *Dover-Castle*.

72. * *Richard Ingolsby*, Colonel, Governour of *Oxford*.

73. * *John Hutchinson*, Colonel, Governour of *Nottingham*.

74. * Sir *John Palgrave*, Col. at the siege of *Newark*.

75. * *Edmund Ludlow*, Governour of

76. * *Cornelius Holland* renteth as much of the Kings Grounds for 200l. *per an.* as is worth 1600l. or 1800l. *per an.*

77. * *Philip Skippon*, Sergeant-Major-General of the Army, Major-Gen. of *London*, and Governoor of *Bristol*, had 1000l. *per an.* lands of inheritance given him.

78. * *Charls Fleetwood*, Colonel.

79. * *Thomas Westrow*, Capt. under Sir *Michael Livesey*, was nothing worth, until a Captain and a Parliament man; and now hath gotten the Bishop of *Worcesters* Manor of *Hartlerow*, which proves he hath two good and beneficial offices.

80. *Henry Martyn*, Col. of a Regiment of Horse, and a Regiment of Whores.

81. *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Col. once Governour of *Bristol*. *Thereby hangs a Tail.*

82. *Anthony Stapley*, Col. Governour of *Chichester*.

83. *Alexander Rigby*, Col. and Governour of *Bolton*.

84. *Charls Pym*, Captain of a Troop of Horse.

85. Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Colonel, Governour of *New-Castle*, and hath the Bishop of *Durham*'s house, Park, and Manor of *Auckland*, and 6500l. in money given him.

86. *William Jepson*, Colonel.

87. Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Major-General for *Denbigh*, and five other Counties.

88. *Godfrey Boswell*, Colonel.

89. The Lord *Gray* of Grooby, (son to the E. of *Stamford*) Col. and hath given to him the Queens Manor house, Park, and Lands at *Holdenby*, and ther's a great fall of the Woods.

90. Sir *Will. Constable*, Col. Governour of *Glocester*, he sold his lands to Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, for 2500l. and is restored to it again by Parliament.

91. Sir *Will. Purefoy*, Col. and Governour of *Coventry*, fought resolutely against the Crosse in the Market place at *Warwick*, and against the Ancient Monuments in the Earls Chappel in St. *Maries* Church there; for which he had 1500l. given him, but when he should have fought with the Enemy, hid himself in a Barley-field, for which a Water-man at Temple stairs (that had been his fouldier) refused to carry him.

92. Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Col. famous for plundering *Warder Castle*, hath the Lands of the Countesse *Dowager* of *Rutland*, worth 1500l. *per an.* and she allowed but 500l.

93. *Herbert Morley*, Col. Plunder-master of *Surrey*.

94. *John Moor*, Col. of the Guards, and for some time had the benefit of Passes out of *London*.

95. *Walter Long*, Col. had 5000l. and the Office of Register for 4. years.

96. Sir *Will. Waller*, General, and lost two Armies, yet a gainer by the employment.

97. *John Allured*, Col.

98. *Michael Oldsworth*, no Col. but Governour of *Pembroke* and *Mountgomery*, and hath a share with his Lord out of Sir *Henry Comptons* Office, worth 3000l. *per an.* and is Keeper of *Windsor Park*.

99. *Tho. Scot*, a Brewers Clerk formerly, hath the Bishops house at *Lambeth*.

100. Master *Ashhurst*, when he went Commissioner into *Scotland*

land, had the Clerk of the Peaces place for *Lancashire*, and 10001. in money given him.

Besides these Offices, Commands, and Gratuities, every Member of the House of Commons, being in all 516. are by their own Order allowed 41. *per* Week a man; which amounts to 1100001. *per annum*.

By the Ordinance for sequestring Delinquents (1 *April*, 1643.) it was declared, *That their Estates should go for maintenance of the Publick Affairs*, and several Ordinances designed *Bishops Lands for pay of* 2000001. *Publick debt*: Yet by this, and the following Centuries, thou shalt see how both Delinquents Estates and Bishops Lands are by Members of Parliament shared amongst themselves, whilest the 2000001. is unpaid, the publick affairs supported by unsupportable Taxes, and that *Dutch Devil Excise*, that insensibly devours the poor, and will impoverish the rich.

These are they that with *Hananiah, break the wooden yoke from our necks*, (28 *Jeremiah*) and put on one of Iron; free us from a little *Ship-money* paid thrice in an Age, and impose as much at once for a *Monthly Taxe*; quit us of the *Monopolies of Tobacco*, and set up *Excise on Bread and Beer*: The first easeth the wanton rich man, and the latter grindeth the needy and poor. Yet *these are thy Gods O London!* these are the Idol Calves the People have set up and do worship: these be the *Molte* to whom ye sacrifice Sons and Servants by Troops, Regiments, and Armies, to maintain their *soveraignty, rebellion*, and *profit*.

And that these and other their actions may never be questioned, they *His Majesties loyal and obedient subjects*, will always *Imprison their King, continue their Army, perpetuate their Parliament*, *and intail their Members-ships* (as the Priesthood on *Levi*) *upon confiding Families, to furnish them with Votes*, as Mr. *Gilbert Gerrard* and his 2 Sons, *Brampton Gurdon* and his 2 Sons, Sir *Robert* [illegible]*ley* and his 2 Sons, 3 *Fines*, 2 *Ashes*, 4 *Stephens*, 4 *Pelhams*, 4 *Hoskins*, 4 *Temples*; it were endlesse to name the Father and the Son, Brother and Brother that fils the House; they come in couples more than unclean Beasts to the Ark: 2 *Vanes*, 2 *Puries*, 2 *Chaloners*, 2 *Bacons*, 2 *Pierpoints*, 2 *Bonds*, 2 *Onslowes*, 2 *Lenthals*, &c. And that our *Ecclesiasticks* may comply with our *Temporal Governors*, the Houses abolish (as superstitious because Legal) the *Convocati-*

on of learned Divines, (regularly summoned by the *King's Writ*, and duly *elected by the Clergy*) and the House of Commons *nominates an Assembly of gifted Divines* (indeed wicked *Simons*) that slander the Godly *Onias*, (2. *Mac.* 4.) to oust him of *his Priests place*; so that at this day there is not one *Assembly-man* but is illegally thrust into anothers *Benefice*, a *Catalogue* of whose names and Preferments expect shortly, and with them a view of the *Militia* and *Common-Council-men* of *London*, observing what Places, Offices and salaries they have from the Houses of Parliament, and then thou wilt know the reasons of their Votes and Actions in the City.

You see in part what the Grandees have done for themselves. Consider after 8 years sitting what they have done for the people, when amongst all their Propositions to the King *for Peace*, hardly any one respects the *good of the People*, but their own *grandeur and profit*. They demand a *Militia* to keep up this Army upon us, which is not the Kings to give. No King of *England* ever governed by a standing Army. They demand likewise power to *raise what Forces for Land and Sea, consisting of what Persons they please to presse; and to raise what money to maintain them out of all mens Estates*, to be laid on at their discretion, and as partially as they please, so that they may favour one Faction, and oppresse the other at pleasure; for, so much the Act for the *Militia* as it is penned imports: and this is more than his Majesty hath power to grant. The late *Militia* of Trained Bands, and the *Posse Comitatus* under *Sheriff* (being the only legal *Militia* of *England*) will not serve their turnes. It hath always been the Policy of *England*, to trust the *Militia* and *sword* in one hand (*viz. the* KINGS) and the Purse that should *pay them* in another (*viz. the* PARLIAMENTS) whereby *one power* might bound and limit the *other*. For to put the Sword and the Purse into one hand, is to make that hand absolute Master of our Persons and Estates, and so reduced us to absolute slavery under the Arbitrary power of one man, without appeal or redresse. *Awake and look about you good People.*

THE END.

AN APPENDIX TO *The History of Independency*,

BEING

A brief description of some few of ARGYLE's proceedings, before and since he joyned in Confederacy with the *Independent Junto* in ENGLAND:

With a Parallel betwixt him and Cromwell,

AND

A Caveat to all his seduced Adherents.

CICERO.

Totius injustitiæ nulla capitalior est quam eorum, qui cum maximè fallunt, id tamen agunt, ut viri boni esse videantur.

LONDON,
Printed in the Year, 1648.

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
FROM THE LIBRARY
OF F. L. GAY
NOV. 3, 1916

AN APPENDIX TO *The History of Independency.*

BEING

A brief deſcription of ſome few of *Argyle*'s proceedings, before and ſince he joyned in confederacy with the *Independent Junto* in *ENGLAND:*

With a Parallel betwixt him and Cromwell;

AND

A Caveat to all his ſeduced Adherents.

THE *Covenant* being at the firſt taking, held to be the true Touchſtone whereby the Religious Royal Subjects were diſcerned from all thoſe who were unwilling to ſubmit to the yoke of Chriſt in matters of Religion, or to the juſt and lawfull Government of our dread Soveraign his Vicegerent; now a ſubtil generation of men (or rather Vipers) in both Kingdomes, who did take the Covenant, and did magnifie it ſo long as it could ſerve them for a Ladder to mount to their intended Greatneſs, being now at the top, have kick'd away the Ladder, and ſtanding (as it were) on the pinacle, look with diſdain on all their old friends, who out of the integrity of their hearts, did for the good of Religion, and His Majeſties honour, joyn in that ſolemn engagement, it being far

far from their thoughts that their modest and humble desires for the Reformation of some abuses both in Church and State (all which, His Majesty in the respective Kingdoms did (or was willing to) cure) should have struck so deep as to endeavour the overthrow of all lawfull Governments, Civil and Ecclesiastical; bringing, instead of a promised Reformation in Religion, a cursed Toleration of the most damnable Sects, Errors, and Heresies that ever Hell did send forth; and for the Civil State, instead of a well-setled Monarchy, a most confused tyrannical Anarchy, quite contrary to the words and meaning of the Covenant, and the honest intentions of all true-hearted, Religious and loyall Subjects in the three Kingdoms, who did take that solemn Covenant with a purpose to keep it, and of very many thousands who did never take the Covenant, (yet very good Protestants and loyall Subjects) being more affrighted with the compulsory way of enforcing it on all, than unsatisfied in the matter, being introduced in a legal way, none of these deserving the name of Malignants, or to be so cruelly dealt with either for their persons or Estates, as hath been too too common in both Kingdoms; but the Covenant it self, doth best decypher who are Incendiaries, Malignants, and evil Instruments, *viz.* those who hinder the reformation of Religion, who divide the King from His People, or one Kingdom from another, or make any Faction or Parties amongst the people, contrary to the League and Covenant. Yet by our new tenets, none must be called Malignants but those that have loyall hearts towards their Soveraign, though otherwise never so Religious, and all of them (with Master *Martin*) would gladly make the *Covenant an old Almanack*, that they might be rid of that tie of *preserving His Majesties Person and Authority, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdoms, that the world may bear witness with their consciences of their loyalties, and that they have no thoughts or intentions to diminish His Majesties just Power and Greatnesse.*

As the *History of Independency* hath discovered the practices of the *Independent Junto*, so this *Appendix* will discover their chief *Confederate* in *Scotland*, namely the Marquess of *Argyle*; whose dealing with his Kindred, Friends, and Confederates mentioned in the following discourse, will be a warning to all religious Protestants, how they trust such an Apostate Covenanter, whose ambition

bition and avarice hath ruined the KING, Church and State, of three flourishing Kingdoms. Although it may seem a paradox to many, I dare boldly aver, that *Argile* and his Faction in *Scotland* have been, and are the chief Malignants, Incendiaries, and evil Instrumeurs, who have been the Ruiners of these three flourishing Kingdoms, and the Authors of the blood shed in all of them, as I hope by this following Discourse will be made appear to every impartial and unprejudicate Reader, who hath, or may have the certain knowledge of every particular when time shall serve. This *Argile*'s Father, after the Marriage of his *English* Lady, having turned *Roman* Catholique, and this his only Son by his first Lady being carefully educated by the Earl of *Morton*, by whose means he obtained the possession of his Fathers whole Estate for a small Pension, and by His Majesties special favour (for outquitting his pretended Title of *Justice General of the Kingdom of Scotland*) did obtain an Heritable Justiciary of *Argile*, *Lorn*, *Kintyre*, and many of the Western Isles; which power he did execute with that cruelty, that he disgusted all the Islanders, and Highlands of *Scotland*, who were never so tyrannized over by any of their Kings, till his Fathers death (still fearing his return) he kept himself somewhat moderate for the engaging for the Covenant, or keeping company sometimes with those that were against it; but his Father being dead, finding himself idolized by those who had taken the managing of all affairs into their hands, and that by his power and policy he could prevail with them in any thing, to indear himself the more to that party, he did seem exceeding zealous for the Covenant, and pretending great fears from *Ireland*, (which the then Lord Deputy *Strafford* his Greatnesse, and known averseneſſe from the Covenant, did make the more easily to be beleeved) whereas the true cause of his fears was for the loss of *Kintyre*, (whereof he cosened his Brother long before his death) *Isla*, and divers considerable Isles which were and ought to be the possessions of the *Mackdonalds*, and his indiscreet provoking of *Strafford*, who in revenge of him did use very hardly all the *Scots* in *Ireland* who would not renounce the National Covenant of *Scotland*: he dis-arming them, did Arm and Train many *Irish*, who (after his Head was off) shed so much bloud in *Ireland*, and upon pretence of divers of the *Mackdonalds* (*Argile*'s own Tenants for the time) were accessary to the

Plot, fearing his Judiciary power where he was both Judge and Party, they were inforced to flie to *Ireland* till their peace ſhould be made; to prevent which, he ſent their Wives and Children after them, took poſſeſſion of all their moveables, and placed other Tenants in their Room; but being grieved that *Culkettough* and his Sons, who had goodly Poſſeſſions, were not gone with the reſt, he cauſed cite them before the Council, as acceſſary to an Invaſion to be made by *Antrum* and ſome of their friends; which citation (as legal men and not guilty in the leaſt) they did obey, and after ſome dayes ſtay in *Edinburgh* (taking their walk daily before *Argile*'s door) they did humbly intreat his Secretary to plead for them, that they might have a ſpeedy hearing, ſince they were weary of their attendance; which the Secretary acquanting the Lord *Argile*, returned them this Anſwer, That ſince they had teſtifyed their obedience by their appearance, they might go home and behave themſelves civilly, not medling with their Rebellious friends, (as he was pleaſed to term them) and be ready upon any new citation, they ſhould be excuſed for that time: they did humbly thank his Lordſhip, and his Secretary, for this courteſie, and did preſently depart from *Edinburgh* towards their home; whereof my Lord (by his Spies upon them) having notice, did immediately convene the Council, and whereas in many dayes before (during their ſtay in Town) they could not be heard, that day they were firſt Called, and upon their not Anſwering, my Lord aggravating their Accuſation by their departure, occaſioned by his own and his Secretaries contriving, procures a Warrant to make them priſoners till they ſhould be Tried, and to ſeize upon their Eſtates; which out of his zeal to the Covenant (God knows) he did carefully perform, and made *Culkettough* and his two Sons Priſoners before they were half way at home; which *Alexander Macdonald* (afterwards Sir *Alexander Macdonald*) being fled to *Ireland* (having no valuable poſſeſſion to look to at home) did aſſociate himſelf with the *Iriſh* in the beginning of their Rebellion; but ſo ſoon as the *Scots* Army came over, he did apply himſelf to them, aſſuring them that he would do them faithfull ſervice againſt the *Iriſh Rebels*, if they would releaſe his old Father and his two Brethren, unjuſtly detained priſoners, or bring them to Legal Trial, whereof having aſſurance given him, he brought with him two hundred gallant

men

men of his friends, and did more execution upon the *Irish* than half of the *Scots* Army, their horse being not able to follow through Bogs, and their Foot not so swift as the *Irish*, and did in one morning bring in six or seven thousand Cowes to the *Scots* Camp (the like booty they did never take at any one time before or since) for which good service, the General did of new ingage for his Father and Brethrens releasment; but when the Committee of Estates had consented, *Argile* did reverse all, and frustrate the Generals promise: which *Alexander Macdonald* perceiving, said no more (but well) I will yet cause my faithful service procure my Fathers inlargement, and did continue without pay, or hope of pay, saving a very spare allowance of quarters, until *Argile* sent over and caused him to be discharged of all quarters, to the grief of all the *Scots* Officers, who did wel know what faithful service he had done, and was able to do them: so that meer necessity did inforce him to make his peace with the *Irish*, by whose help he did come over into *Scotland*, meerly to be revenged on *Argile*, and to relieve his Father, hoping the Estates of *Scotland* would not blame him for suing the performance of what their General had promised unto him, intending no more til *Montrosse* out of his desire to be revenged on *Argile* did enforce *Alexander Macdonald* to joyn his Majesties Interest, as *Montrosse* pretended, with the said *Macdonald*, hoping he would find (as indeed he did) a great many discontented persons to joyn with them, all which, or the most considerable, were parties and persons wronged, oppressed, and ruined by *Argile*, as chiefly (besides the forementioned Islanders and these *Highlands* that were under his lash) the *Atholl* men twice or thrice plundered by him; *Montrosse* himself provoked by many well known injuries, which no Noble heart could endure, as the death of Mr. *James Stewart* who was no Traitor either to King or Country save only to *Argile*. The Earl of *Airly* having his estate plundered, and his House thrown down in revenge of an antient quarrel amongst their Predecessors, for the Earl of *Airly* having some Lands in the Bray of *Angus*, out of which *Argile's* men did many times drive Heards of Cattle, Sheep, and other Beasts, for which the Lord *Ogilbee* could have no remedy, these Thieves being protected by the Earl of *Argile*, by advice of his Lawyers he did Charge the Earl of *Argile*, that he should find surety not to

maintain or protect such Out-lawes; but before he could obtain the same, he was obliged (according to the custome of *Scotland*) to give his Oath, he did fear bodily harm from *Argile*, which he was unwilling to do; alleging, it were only a Beastly harm that he did fear, for if he would not protect those that did steal his poor mens Beasts, he was nothing afraid of his body. This tart Answer, after an age must (under colour of service to the State) be so revenged.

The *Gourdons*, divers of whom he betrayed under trust, and under pretence of securing his Neces Portions that he was ingaged for, possessing himself of *Badinoch* and *Lochabar*, and plundring friends and foes indifferently in his marches too and fro, and the inexhaustible treasure of the *Scots* Exchequer must allow him eleven or twelve thousand pound sterling for every Voyage; whereas his Breechlesse Souldiery were well content with their Beef and Bannocks, and such convenient plunder as the Country could afford: these (as I conceive) were the most considerable Forces *Montrosse* ever had, unlesse some that were through fear, compelled to yield for the time, so that the bloud-shed in *Scotland* by *Montrosse* and *Macdonald* do properly fall upon *Argiles* score, no other under Heaven having occasioned both their outbreakings, and all their partakers, who did see no other way to be revenged on him (that had made himself Master of all the Estate, having made *Argile's* quarrel their own) than by heaving at all under the specious pretext of the Kings interest: which if God in mercy had not prevented, they had almost effectuate through *Argile's* misgovernment; wherein it is to be remarked, that when he was overthrown by *Montrosse* in *Lochaber* the second of *February*, 1645. many of his friends being killed, and others taken, he who would not release *Culkettough* for his Sons good service, nor the Generals ingagement, or the Committee of Estates desire (you must not speak of Command) for Master *James Hamilton*, a faithful Minister of the Gospel, who found more kindnesse from *Culkettough* than from this Canibal Covenanter, is now content to release all to get a poor Company of his Country-men, leaving the Godly Minister in cruel bondage, whom *Culkettough* did release upon his Parell and promise to send him a Boy that was forgot behind.

This religious Covenanter, out of his pious care for the educa-

tion

tion of his Sister, in the true Religion as he pretended, did by His Majesties special favour overthrow the last will and Testament of his Mother-in-law, by getting himself made Administrator in the room of him who was nominated therein, whereby he got the Gentlewoman his Sisters whole patrimony into his hands; but before he could prevail in this, his Majesty did take special care that sufficient Surety should be given that the Will of the Dead should be truly performed by payment of their respective portions when they were Married, and sufficient maintenance until they were Married: the Elder whose Portion was Five thousand pound sterling, is presently sent for, and one thousand pound or thereby given to a Gentleman for his second Wife, the rest (there being a clause, *that if any of them should enter into Nunneries, they should only have* 300l. *sterling for all*) being kept so scarce of their due maintenance (the Gentleman who was surety, having advanced of his own above 1000l. whereof he is not as yet repaid) were seduced to go to Monasteries all save one, who is now ready to enter through his neglect; so this 12000l. of his Sisters Portions (with the ruine of their Souls to boot) is a part of *Argile's* wel-made purchase.

The great care taken by the Earl of *Morton* for *Argile's* education and preservation both of his life from the crafty designs of a Step-mother, and recovery of his almost ruined Estate, was so wel requited, that (notwithstanding he hath the Earl of *Morton's* Daughter in his bed) in open Parliament he spake what became him not both of that noble Lords Person and Estate (only, as he pretended, out of his zeal to the welfare of the Kingdom) whereas the truth is, it was meerly out of his ambition to have that Honourable place conferred upon himself, which was intended by his Majesty upon that noble Lord; but finding His Majesty not inclinable that way, the next assault was, for one of his own name, a man truly wel-deserving (for to say, better deserving than himself, is no great praise) and if, his two much favouring of him do not stain his reputation, worthy to be beloved.

Thus having shortly viewed *Argile's* religious carriage towards his Vassals and Tenants, Parents, Friends, and Allyes, Brother and Sisters, Neighbours and fellow-Patriots, let us take a short view of his Loyal carriage towards his Soveraign, and his due:

due observation of the Solemn League and Covenant with his covenanted Brethren of *England*, and then let the impartial Reader judge whether he be not such as is affirmed in the proposition, the greatest incendiary in the three Kingdoms.

It cannot be denied, but His Majesty (as is mentioned before) did confer many great and Princely favours upon him at the Earl of *Morton's* decease when he was Lord of *Lorn*, such whereof as required confirmation were approved and ratified in Parliament, His Majesty being present, *anno* 1641. with the addition of the honour and title of Marquesse, and a full Pension well paid ever since whoever want, together with (not only an *act of oblivion*, but) an approbation of all his tyrannical proceedings against the *Athol* men, the Earl of *Airely*, and others, though not particularly mentioned, yet as done in obedience of Orders from the Committee of Estates (obtained by his own procurement) therefore to be no further questioned.

The first endeavour in requital of these and many other Royal favours was the entring in conspiracy with certain his Confederates (whom I forbear to name) to transform the Kingdom of *Scotland* into a Free State like the Estates of *Holland*, and because some truly noble Lords did abhor such a disloyal motion (after so many Acts of favour, witnessing to all Posterity his Royal bounty both to Church and State, whereof these chief Conspirators tasted not a little) he did at that time forbear not so much to prosecute his design, as to conceal their Counsel from all these that had thoughts of Loyalty, though most faithfull to the true Religion and their Countrey, according to the Covenant. The *Irish Rebellion* breaking out, fearing his own stake if *Antrim* should grow strong, he procured one Regiment for himself, another for his Cozen *Lawers*, a third with the place of *L. General* for that most ungrate Gentleman the Earl of *Lothian* (who was married to his Neece and one of his Confidents, who was once heard say, *That the 3 Kingdoms would never have peace so long as King* CHARLES *his Head was on his Shoulders*: and yet it is only King CHARLES his favour that hath made him and his Father exceed the estate of Gentlemen) with many other places to divers of their friends, intending a full Conquest of *Ireland* (at least) to banish *Antrim* and the *Mackdonalds* from thence, as he and his Predecessors had done many of them

out of *Scotland*, taking a gift from the Parliament of *England* of some of the Earl of *Antrims* Lands in *Ireland*, especially the Island of *Rachera*; to the which, one of the forementioned Regiments was sent, and kept there a long time, so that all the three Kingdomes must be at the charge to maintain Armies and Garrisons for enlarging the Dominions of *Argile*. His next project, having begun his Confederacy in *England*, by shewing them the wayes to get money by Taxes and Excise, 10. and 20. part, bringing in of Plate, voluntary Contributions, borrowing on the Publique Faith, tyrannizing over the Persons and Estates of all that durst be so bold as speak against the Illegal Orders, and all this Money in both Kingdoms to be employed against His Majestie, whom their renewed Covenant did oblige them to defend, having good opportunity to traffique betwixt under the pretence of Commissioners for the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the rest for the most part either his Creatures or Confidents; so that he ruled all the Council at home and abroad, sending *Lothian* to *France* to have them brought in a *Confederacy*, abusing his Majesty by procuring His Commission for Treating concerning the keeping and preservation of that ancient League betwixt *France* and *Scotland* (begun in *Charls the Great's time*, with *Achaius* King of *Scotland*) but the effect of the Treaty was to bring money to *Argile*, who, at that time when the Kingdom stood in much need of *men*, sold five thousand to the *French* to be under his Brother, (from whom he had, as formerly the Estate, so now the Title of *Kintyre*, and he must be Earl of *Irwin*, all the Interest he had there being by his *quondam Tutor* (now Slave) *Barcky*, his being sometime Provost thereof) and the Chancellors Brother *Lundie sur France* and *Irwin* had had penny worths, although *Argile* made a good market for the Men, like Money trusted in a Jugler's hand, were gone with a puff: thus you see how much both KING and Kingdome were obliged to him in this particular. But to come to the main point of the Conspiracy, finding *Scotland* (although he had all the power of the Persons and Estates in his hand) not pliable as yet to cast off Monarchy, and imbrace Aristocracy, of whom (as affairs stood) none could be the chief Ruler but himself, he did imploy the Zealots of the Clergy to asperse those who did oppose him (especially some most faithfull and religious Noble men) as if they were fallen from their first love, turn, enemies;

mies to the cause of Christ, had with *Demas* imbraced this present world, and that *Argile* was the only man that stood in the gap; threatning out of their Pulpits all such as would think or speak evil of him; but when the State-jugglers with their Clergy-Impostors, could neither shake the Loyalty of the one, who were really for the Covenant and Monarchical Government, nor plaster over the many fraudulent cheats of the Argathelian party, now become a most odious and heavy burthen to the Kingdome, harased and ruined from the one end to the other by him and his Armies on the one part, and *Montrosse* and his Confederates on the other part, (*Argile*, of the two, being the Kingdoms most cruel Enemy) was simulat humiliation, having the Church-men still his friends, did reconcile himself to the other noble and loyall Patriots, by suffering them to take some share of the Government, that the (by him) dis-joynted State might by them be set in a right frame again, with a resolution, when all things were right, to usurp his wonted Authority, and follow his old trade of Dethroning His Majesty, and cantonizing the Kingdom; but things falling out so, that one day at *Naseby*, quelling the KINGS party in *England*; and one day at *Philipshaugh*, almost quieting *Scotland*; finding the Presbyterians in *England* inclinable to peace, and desirous of his Majesties re-establishment according to the Covenant, he leaves them, and joyns Counsell with *Say*, *Perpoint*, *Cromwel*, and others of the Independent Junto, doing them that Master piece of good service, First, under colour of Loyalty and friendship to prevail with His Majesty to return to the *Scots Army* then at *Newark*, *Cromwell* contributing a Passe to *Hudson* and *Ashburnham* with a slack Guard, that His Majesty might the more freely escape. Secondly, after many learned and loyal Speeches *for Monarchy*, the Kingdom of *Scotlands* interest in the person of the KING, and many Vows and Protestations both in private and publick, not to abandon His Majesty without his own consent, contrary to all which, he and his Party did overthrow the Loyalty of That once famous Gentleman, Lieuten. General *David Leslie* (who had deeply sworn, and ingaged himself to His Majesty, to convoy him safely into *Scotland*, or then to see His Majesty peaceably setled in his Throne in *England*) forcing him, and he perswading and prevailing with the Souldiers to march away, leaving his Majesty behind little better than (but

now

now an assured) Prisoner, and the whole power of the Sword in the hands of the Independents and Sectaries, to the ruine and overthrow of their Presbyterian friends in the City and Parliament, as the *History of Independency* doth Witness, encouraging the Independent Party (by their Letters) to proceed in their dethroning Votes, and accusation of his Majesty, assuring them that no party from *Scotland* shall be able to hinder them in their proceedings; but finding the body of the Parliament, and the Kingdom of *Scotland* to be sensible of the ruine of Religion and Monarchical Government if the Sectaries prevaile, and their resolution to adhere to their Covenant, and re-establishing his Majesty, being in fear their party shall not be able any longer to delude the Kingdom, or hinder the Army designed to come in for the vindication of the many breaches of the Solemn League and Covenant, and the several Treaties betwixt the Kingdoms, they have solicited the Armies of Sectaries to come to their assistance, some of their Ministers professing in their Letters *They have no hope of safety, unless it be by means of this* (rebellious) *Army now in England*, thereby endeavouring to make *Scotland* the seat of War.

And if these troubles in *Wales*, and cutting Petitions from *Essex*, *Kent*, *Surry*, and *Sussex*, had not hindered them, their resolution was to have sent *Cromwel* thither, it being debated before he went to *Wales*, which of the two he should take in hand; but the constant assurance they had from *Argile*, and those accursed Clergy-men that were bribed by *Stephen Marshal*, *That there was no fear of danger from* Scotland *in hast*, made them hasten to finish the enslaving of *England* and *Wales*, and then they resolve to conquer *Scotland*; which they conceive may be quickly done, having *Argile* and his Faction so firm to them, that although he would, neither he nor his Partners dare revolt from them, having received so much of their money, lest they should reveal more than he desires should be known; and as the Independents sent their Emissaries through all Counties and Corporations to get hands to Petitions *for thanks to the House for their dethroning Votes*, so *Argile* and *Marshal*'s Hirelings have been very active to get hands to Petitions in many Shires, Corporations, and Provincial Assemblies, for *hindering the engagement against the* rebellious *Army of Sectaries, and the Independent Junto their Confe-*

declares: whereas there is no intention against the Parliament, or Body of *England*; but *to comply with all religious honest-hearted and loyal Subjects, who desire that His Majesty may be enlarged and brought to a Personal Treatie, whereby Peace and Truth may be setled in the three Kingdoms*; their chief pretences being, *that Religion is not secured*: the Religion now established in *Scotland* was by Act of Parliament (His Majesty present) so well secured as the most religious Church-men, and most skilfull Lawyers could devise; if you have got *New Lights*, and desire any other Religion to be established, vindicate His Majesties Honour, and put up your Petitions to Him in an orderly way, and He may possibly vindicate you from the Yoke of Slavery which some of your tyrannizing Clergy desire to put upon you; The next is a wonderfull increase of your fears by the great *Trusts* put upon such persons, of whom you have just cause of jealousie to this Kingdom, and the Cause of God; though you do not speak plain, your Pamphletters do, and your Pulpit-Incendiaries to some purpose; you mean Duke *Hamilton* now General of the Forces, designed by the Kingdom and Parliament of *Scotland for vindicating the Honour of the Nation, and revenging His Majesties Captivity upon that perfidious rebellious Army of Sectaries, and their adherents*: what he did before the subscribing of the Covenant ought not to be objected, (his moderation even then deserving the honour and love of his Country) and since his subscribing, malice it self cannot tax him that he hath done any thing contrary to his Covenant or his Country; what *Montrosse* doth asperse him with, that *he hindred his intended invasion of* Scotland, and so consequently His Majesties Service; none of those who stand for the Covenant who did think *Montrosse* an enemy to the Covenant, and to his Country, ought to object this to my Lord Duke, whose tender care of the safety and welfare of his Country may evidently appear even in the relation of one of his most deadly enemies; and whereas his good advice for moderation was misconstrued by *Argile* and his prevailing Faction on the one side, as if he had done things contrary to the Covenant; and by *Montrosse* and his Confederates at Court on the other side, as if he had connived or been accessary to those violent courses against his Majesty, which (God knows) he was not able at that time to hinder; his intermeddling *still for Peace*, and such a Peace as might consist with

the *safety of Religion*, and *His Majesties honour*; whereof he was very hopeful, being confident of His Majesties propensnesse to Peace, and the interest he had in His Majesties favour: but the watchfull malice of his enemies, and the enemies of Peace, did cunningly prevent his going about so good a work, making him Prisoner without His Majesties knowledg, hinding by all means *a meeting betwixt them*, knowing that his Majesties justice, and the Dukes innocency, would quickly make their calumnies to vanish: what a sad imprisonment did he indure, much heightned by the then impossibility of clearing his innocency to his Soveraign (the losse of whose favour would be more bitter than a thousand deaths) and his real intentions for the good of his Country, for whose cause he hazarded and suffered so much misery and imprisonment? Yet this noble Dukes implacable and malicious enemies do further asperse him as a man of no Religion, a meer Politician, and one that seeketh the ruine of his Soveraign, by the aspiring to the Crown of *Scotland*: It would trouble the best Politician, and the most Religious upon earth, in these distracting and distracted times, to distinguish rightly betwixt *the duty we owe to Religion*, and *the duty we owe to our Prince*, supposing them enemies; but the falsity of this supposition, (which hath misled many thousands, and been the ground of all our miseries) being evident to the Duke, who had the honor to be educated and intimate with his Majesty from his youth, knowing his Majesty to be a *lover and honourer of the true Protestant Religion, a lover of justice and mercy, and a practiser of all Christian and moral virtues, and with a most munificent hand a royal Benefactor to himself and his Family*. It may be asked, if it had been either piety or policy in the Duke to have kick'd off so loving and so liberal a Lord and Master, (although he had not been his Soveraign) or to have ingaged against his Country with any Party that for their own ends more than the good of their Soveraigns, were disturbers of all moderate Counsels, so long as he had any hopes of Peace; especially seeing so many sad presidents in both Kingdoms, where many powerfull Subjects, lovers of the true Protestant Religion, not joyning prudence with their loyalty and innocence, have crush'd them under the Load, and nothing easeth His Majesties burthen, but rather increaseth the same, all their wealth and power being now made instrumental to en-

slave both KING and Kingdoms: the Duke's prudence having vindicated him from the ruine intended against him by his enemies, and reserved him (through Gods blessing) to vindicate his Loyalty by re-enthroning his Majesty soe soon as God hath enabled him with any power to do it. As for his Religion, it is known he is neither Popishly affected, nor a Sectary; but who hath ever been a professor of the true Protestant Religion, a lover and Patron of all Godly men and honest Ministers, even in the time of *Episcopacy*, when few or none but himself durst appear for them; if his judgement had not been overswayed in some Star-Chamber sentences before he had that wisdom and experience which he now hath, and long before he did take the Covenant; if he had been ambitious of popular applause, he had been more renown'd for his Religion, than for his Princes royall bounty; but wishing rather to be religious, than seem so, his favours were given in secret to many godly Ministers, and his Majesties honour and good chiefly aimed at in the bestowing of them: and that you may take a short view of his proceedings, as you have done of *Argile's*, by comparing them, you will find who doth deserve the Title of *the most Religious*.

Duke Hamilton *suffered his worthy Mother to enjoy, besides her own Joynture, all his Estate, (whereby, indeed he lost nothing, she improving it much to his advantage) hath helpt his Brother to a great estate, with Titles and Places of Honour and profit, suitable to his birth and worth: his Sisters, and now some of his Neices matched in the Noblest and best Families of the Kingdom.*

The Duke had no quarrel with any save Montrosse; *the ground you heard, for crossing his first invention for* the Invasion of *Scotland, to prevent the misery and*

1. Whereas *Argile* did in his Fathers life time bring him to a Pension, outed his Brother of his Estate, *Kintyre*, and ruined his Sisters by cheating them of their portions, and so enforcing them to go to Cloysters.

2. *Argile*, for private quarrels betwixt him and *Montrosse*, *Culkestough*, and the *Athol* men, the Earl of *Airely*, and others hath drawn much misery and bloudshed.

bloudshed upon the Kingdom, whom he enforced to espouse his quarrels.

3. *Argile* had enrich'd his Country with the spoyls of the Kingdom, and himself with the great treasure bestowed on him both by *Scotland* and *England*, which is well secured without the reach of an Impeachment.

4. *Argile* hath contrary to his Covenant, Duty and Allegiance, conspired to extirpate Monarchical Government, to introduce forein forces of Sectaries, to the utter overthrow of the established Religion.

5. *Argile* hath overthrown all Laws, tyrannizing over the Lives, Liberties, and Estates of the Subjects.

6. *Argile* opposeth all wayes of the Peace, & settlement of the three Kingdoms, His Majesties deliverance, and being brought to a Personal Treaty, lest the power should be taken out of his and his Confederates hands whereby they oppress and ruine both King and Subject.

7. Lastly, *Argile* hath betrayed his old friends the *Presbyterian party* in both Kingdoms, especially the *Presbyterians* in the Parliament of *England* and City of *London*, not only suffering them to be made a prey to their enemies, but obstructing their relief.

bloudshed that he did foresee was like to follow.

The Duke had no spoyls nor gifts given him since ever he signed the Covenant (save the Title of DUKE*) but hath been spoyled both himself and friends by those that followed* Montrosse.

The Duke stands firm to his Covenant for the established religion, loyal to his Prince for Monarchical Government, faithfull to his Country against all forein Invasion.

The Duke acts nothing but according to the Laws established, according to the Covenant, and the duty of every good Subject.

Duke Hamilton *hath been of that temper to mediate for a well-grounded Peace, his Majesties deliverance, and the Personal Treaty, being the only probable waies for setling the three Kingdoms, and setling the power where it ought to be for the Honour and safety both of King and Subject.*

The Duke hath used, and is using all endeavours to Vindicate the oppressed Subjects in both Kingdoms, never changing Interests, being alwaies faithfull to all those to whom he did profess love and friendship.

Een

Let the impartial Reader now judge which of the two is most religious. As this opposition betwixt Duke *Hamilton* and *Argile* makes them both to appear what they are; so this following Parallel betwixt the *Argathelian Faction* and the *Independent Junto* will serve for an eye-salve to cure the eye-sight of both Kingdoms, and let them see clearly how near they are to the brink of an intolerable and perpetual slavery.

Argile *and his Faction stiled by the* Independents, the Godly party in *Scotland*, the rest all Malignants.

1. The Army of Sectaries in *England* (however formerly Preached and wrote against) now called by *Argile's faction the hope of their safety.*

The like in England *by the Army of Sectaries and Independent Junto, above twenty millions shared amongst them, whereof the Kingdom can never get accompt; all places of Honour and Trust of* England *still in the hands of those that are engaged for, and with the Army of Sectaries.*

2. The heavy Taxes imposed and continued upon *Scotland* by *Argile* and his Faction, and all the benefit thereof, and most part of the monies got from *England*, shared amongst them, and no satisfactory accompt given to the Kingdom thereof.

Cromwell *and the army for the King in their first ingagements; but having inslaved the City, inforced the Parliament to the dethroning Votes, and as not formerly acquainted therewith, gave thanks for them, and sent their Emissaries to some seduced Counties and Corporations to do the like.*

3. All places of Honour and trust usurped by *Argathelians* (till of late) and the Army modelled to maintain their Interest.

4. *Argile* formerly (yet but seemingly) for Monarchy, now really against it, and all that desire to assert it.

Cromwell *contributes a Passe to His Guides slacking the guards, as he did the second time, when he frighted him with a Plot from* Hampton-Court *to the* Isle of Wight, *where he remains close Prisoner.*

5. That Faction first betrays the King to come to the *Scots* Army, promising protection, and then most perfidiously delivered Him up to the mercy of His most cruel Enemies.

6. *Ar-*

6. *Argile* and his Faction have been most cruel to those they call their *Enemies*, especially in cold blood; and perfidious to their friends, deserting and betraying them.

7. *Argile* when he had done mischief, must have both thanks and reward; and like a Conquerour, march through the Kingdom in triumph: a thing never granted amongst the noble Romans to triumph for a Victory in a Civil War.

8. *Argile's* Faction petitions, That the Army intended for His Majesties inlargement, and the relief of our Presbyterian Brethren shall not come in.

9. *Argile* and his Faction desires but five thousand Horse to assist them to subdue *Scotland*, which must be turned a *Province to the Kingdom of the Saints.*

The blood shed in England *under colour of justice in cold blood, calls aloud for vengeance; and the perfidious breaches of the Army of their promises to King, Parliament and Country, is too too evident.*

What the insolent Army did, comming with Boyes in their hats when they influenced the Parliament, and riding in triumph through the City, by whose bounty they were made and maintained an Army, will to their perpetual infamy be registred to all posterity.

The Army, and some others by their instigation, petition that the Kingdome may be setled without the King, and that Army continued to enslave the Kingdom, especially the Presbyterian party, their Army being for Toleration.

Cromwell *was ready to comply, but got some other work for the time; and if God prevent it not, will now speedily be able to obey* Argile's *desires; but if that fail,* Argile *shall have money, and send* David Lesley *to levy Forces abroad to work* Argile's *ends.*

Let this serve for a Caveat to the misled and deluded Protestants of the three Kingdomes not to trust the *fair promises or pretences of these seeming Saints*, who have made the *solemn League and Covenant*, (intended for preservation of *Religion, His Majesties Honour, and the just Liberties of the Subject*) to be the ruine of Religion, the dishonour (so far as in them lieth) of His Majesty and

and the most absolute enslaving of all free Subjects, not to Kings or Princes, to Great men or Good men, but to the very scum and off-scouring of both Kingdoms; it being no small grief to all that truly feared God, that so many of the reputed honest Presbyterian party should (out of base fear, or other by-respects) comply so long with these Scare-Juglers, the Clergy being most active, hastning thereby their own and the Kingdoms misery; for they may be well assured, if these Saints prevail, they must (as some of them have done already) turn their Coats once more, and become the Hirelings, and tongue-tied *Tenants at will* to *their Brethren of the Independency*, or be kicked out of their *fat Benefices*, and possibly out of the Kingdom to prevent new Insurrections against them, which they are cunning to procure, having the power in their hand to repress all that dare appear against them may be ruined, others by their example terrified, and their Saints may enjoy the fatness of *England*; but I would ask these violent Clergymen of the Presbyterian Party that are unwilling His Majesty should be brought speedily to a *Personal Treaty*, what their *Assemblies* of *Divines* have been doing? for if that Confession of Faith set out in *England*, approved of in *Scotland*, be agreeable to the truth of Gods word (as I know nothing to the contrary) why should the chief Magistrate our dread Soveraign be any longer debard of his just dues? is He worse than Infidel, that you will assist those that deny His sacred Majesty that which they allow to Infidel Magistrates? blush for shame, and repent in time, lest as they change their Votes every day, according as the tide of their power ebbs and flows; so they may soon force you to repeal that Article concerning the chief Magistrate, or (like the glos of *Orleans*) put an exposition upon it which destroyeth the text. *God send us peace and truth, and preserve His sacred Majesty, and his Posterity, and confound the wicked counsels of all such as are enemies to Peace, Truth, and Monarchy.*

Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti; Si non, his utere mecum.

THE END.